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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1973

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DRAMATISTS URGED NOT TO NEGLECT SOCIOPOLITICAL ISSUES

East Berlin THEATER DER ZEIT in German Vol 36 No 12, Dec 81 (signed to press 13 Nov 81) pp 8-9

[Article by Christoph Funke, East Berlin DER MORGEN drama critic, editorial staff member; director, Working Group for New Plays, Association of GDR Theater Professionals: "Dealing With GDR Drama--In Preparation of the Third Workshop on Drama, Leipzig, May 1982"]

[Text] 1.

"Now that we have worked so many years/Our situation is much tougher than at first." That statement, in Bertold Brecht's Svedenborg poems, is put in the mouth of the "swaggerer," but does it not also apply to our manner of dealing with new dramas on our stages? Two workshops in 1978 and 1980 have not been able to resolve tough questions of development; at best they made us more aware of them and roused expectations that have only partly been met. Many successes, passionately fought for in particular, on one stage or another, with one author or another, cannot hide the fact that the new drama still has not become a substantially decisive artistic factor governing our theater in its political and aesthetic effect all-around. With a much greater determination, statements on the present condition are being infused into the interpretation of classical works, insistent, exciting, contradictory, challenging. The new drama at the same time finds itself pushed onto smaller stages, experimental programs and shows, presented to spectators who do care but with it, frequently, noticeably removed from any public confrontation with the audience in the bigger houses.

And yet there is at the same time a great and vivid interest in new drama. Unremittingly, the Henschel publishing house is publishing (Mueller, Knauth, Stolper, Strahl, in one compendium Gross, Wendt, Koerbl, Seidel) and THEATER DER ZEIT plays, and literary journals like NDL and TEMPERAMENTE are giving their hearts to drama texts. The number of those who write is getting increasingly larger, and theaters themselves are becoming new drama centers: actors write plays, playwrights stage their own works--there are attempts at producing a "cohesive control circuit," at letting drama originate and find its purpose in the theater itself, turning the playwright's dependency into independence or, at least, into an opportunity for him where he does not have to bring his work to the producer from the outside but can make sure he has producers and can in part himself take on their role

(examples: "Alles oder etwas [Everything or Something] by Joerg-Michael Koerbl in Frankfurt, "August Caesar" by Max K. Hoffmann in Potsdam).

But this makes the disturbed relationship between the ones who write and the theater people apparent. The playwrigts want a different theater (at times other spectators as well), and the theaters want different plays. With all this comes the apprehension of the theater folk, not so rarely confirmed in practice, that the plays they have on hand cannot reach a "broader" audience. This concern combines with a frequently unsettling difference in attitudes by those two partners with respect to basic cultural policy matters. Individual experiences, and that means also individual pain from manifestations of reality, individual convictions of the nature of current and historic processes, individual postulates on possibilities and risks of personality, which at times quite clearly deviate from our overall social experiences, meet a public institution that has to come to terms with its public partner, the audience, and cannot survive without that audience.

2.

Playwrights are difficult people. At times the view is expressed that there is a close connection between talent and difficulty, that is to say, the more talented someone is the more difficulties he makes. So we get, after the unsuitable distinction of our playwrights in terms of the older ones, who have made it, and the younger ones, who impetuously are trying to make it, that between the difficult ones and the less difficult ones--on the former we may burn our fingers, the latter are not worth performing. Whether it has something to do with such a position, which is indeed being practiced too, that "official" ways of disseminating, offering and making available new dramas meet with evident distrust, would have to be examined. The truth is that new relations between those who write and the people in the theater business who do something for their work are gaining a new importance. Here again, as in the drama that comes out of the theater itself, the attempt becomes perceptible that one wants to avoid, at least mitigate, the clash between the playwright as an individual and the theater as an institution, by an encounter among individuals striving to realize a joint artistic concept--the playwrights on the one side and the director or actor on the other--by means of the collective instrument of the theater available to them.

But back to the difficult ones. No kind of characterization of the playwrights, whatsoever, makes any sense. And at odds, no common task can be coped with. We need the art of listening to one another and talking with one another. As authors make discoveries that are not satisfied by way of quick agreement, patience and understanding are called for on both sides. Any distrust in the relation between the text and the performance jeopardizes the opportunities the theater has for an art uniquely qualified to challenge human encounter. Our playwrights' designs need a partner of trust, not to land in isolation or on an island of the only know-it-all or initiates, but to find their way to the stage. That is bound to lead to issue-taking, on cultural policy and politics as such. This is a point we often still evade. It must become what unites rather than divides, the playwrights and the theater people.

3.

Only in recognition of the fact that for one side or the other there also always will be painful decisions, one need not accept the given but can jointly change it. A fact is that Heiner Mueller and Volker Braun still constitute rarities in repertoires. Working with their plays has still not lost what makes them extraordinary, even sensational. That is why the attempts in Halle and Karl-Marx-Stadt to perform "Bau" [Building] and "Der Auftrag" [The Mission] deserve full attention. The fact is that there is a perceptible resignation among the playwrights without whom the history of our socialist theater would be inconceivable. Rainer Kerndl has just presented a prose text, Armin Stolper is writing essays and stories, and Helmut Baierl is waiting for a performance of "Kirschenpfluecken" [Picking Cherries]. Rudi Strahl, widely performed, still advocates (because of it?) strictly separating the drama from its performance in terms of aesthetics. Helmut Bez, extremely and auspiciously successful with his "Jutta oder Die Kinder von Damutz" [Jutta or the Children of Damutz], has long been working on his Tieck adaptation of "Verkehrte Welt" [Mixed-up World]. There is no linear continuation for what was started with him and others. Gross should be mentioned here and Christoph Hein, and also authors already introduced to the first workshop such as Jochen Berg, Lothar Trolle, Gerhardt Groeschke, and Uwe Saeger, who have not yet gotten onto the stage or beyond modest beginnings. Solely unperturbed by all these efforts on the plane there remains Peter Hacks, a lofty summit in the rugged dramatic mountains.

But negative experiences are counterbalanced by positive ones. And listening to lamentations in static fascination would indeed mean entering a mixed-up world. Each theater season offers new dramatic talents, recently Heinz Drewniok, Georg Seidel and Reinhard Kuhnert, who was vividly supported at the start of the season by the Brandenburg theater. In Schwerin they keep promoting new dramas with tenacity. Halle started its New Theater with a program filled with GDR plays (Kerndl, Gratzik, Strahl, Wendt). Karl-Marx-Stadt tried a play by Wendt, "Die Dachdecker" [The Tilers] on the large stage. It altogether is worth contemplating why that playwright has become indispensable with his dramatic designs, at least in the workshops, challenges actors and fascinates the audience. Rostock staged Claus Hammel's "Die Preussen kommen" [The Prussians Are Coming], a work which, with its irreverent audacity and witty aggressiveness on matters of coming to grips with history, also had success when it toured Berlin as a cheerful Marxist mental provocation. (Granted, the play has weak spots, but should it because of that be confined solely to Rostock? Can we afford a territorial apportioning of GDR plays?) And, not last: for the fall and winter season 1981/82 premieres are scheduled for Drewniok, Gross, Groeschke, Gratzik, Kahlau, Plenzdorf, Wander and many others.

4.

The third workshop is urgently needed. Not only as an opportunity for confidence forming measures among partners who are more or less at odds. A few days of courtesy would hardly do the trick. Rather, the workshop should demonstrate the ability our theater and our plays have to comment on the revolutionary processes and great political struggles of our time. Not all issues can be resolved in Leipzig, but some of them ought to be treated as accurately and thoroughly as

possible. There is no way to dodge everyday issues, and playwriting should be asked how it relates to a time that confronts the alternatives between war and peace, death and life. That is why it properly belongs to the workshop to think about having the theater deal with epic materials because the attempt to produce on stage socialist and critical-realistic literature with rich problems that affect fundamentals in human decisions and attitudes is part of the intent of the producers to lend current issues passionate artistic impulses.

All pleading for the discovery of human abilities, every irate reminder of the crippling of our mind, and every passionate confrontation with history of course also becomes an important, irreplaceable contribution to a comprehension of our time.

The workshop is to be held under the topic, "revolutionary processes and their reflection in the current productions in GDR theaters," the topic being thought of, not as a constraint, but as a compelling mental framework. Casual conversations after the performance are to be replaced by a well prepared forum which will not choke off spontaneous comments, and this also is part of the planning for the third workshop. Getting beyond what is irrelevant and making use of science opportunities to find a common language and promote new plays through tested knowledge, that would be the task. This need not do away with the established forms of workshop work--readings, and talks between the actors and the audience and specialists. Important is the concentration, in the number of performances and their mental absorption, their effect on everyday theater.

"Must we be lucky?" Brecht asks in the above mentioned poem, "To the Swaggerer." And his answer is: "So you ask. Expect/No other answer but your own." That answer, pluralized, shows us the way.

5885
CSO: 2300/111

BORDER TROOP COMMANDER PLEDGES CONTINUED VIGILANCE

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 137, 26 No 81 p 2

[Article by Lt Gen Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten, deputy minister for national defense and chief, GDR Border Troop: "GDR State Border Always Reliably Protected"]

[Text] Looked at historically, the 35 years of development of the Broder Troops of the GDR are but a short span of time. But it would be fully justified to say that since the establishment of the Border Troops on Sept 1946 the decades that have followed have been rich in situations that have put them to the test. Over this whole period the European borders of the socialist community, especially the national border of the German Democratic Republic with the FRG and West Berlin, have been established the foremost line in the struggle for peace and security of the peoples of Europe.

The party, the working class and all the working people of the GDR, in the years that have passed, in the struggle for secure borders, have created all the political-moral and material bases that have enabled the Border Troops to fulfill their class mission reliably in close cooperation with other defense and security organizations and with the population of the border regions.

We Border Troops are aware that imperialistic politicians and NATO strategists are currently abandoning in an ever more open and brutal fashion the course of detente agreed upon at Helsinki and have shifted to a policy of confrontation that holds the greatest risks for peace. The nuclear arms escalation is once again being accelerated. The "practicability" of a nuclear war in Europe is being discussed more and more shamelessly and inhumanly. Production of neutron weapons, which will presumably make such an event possible, has been begun in the U.S. Statements by certain West German politicians, that neutron weapons will not, for the present, be stationedin the FRG, can reassure no one.

Added to this are the plans for stationing new American medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe and a multitude of military exercises of the aggressive NATO alliance. It is not defense that is being practiced in maneuvers of ever growing size only a few kilometers to the west of our borders. Nor is it for defense purposes that units of the NATO forces, particularly those of the U.S., are being shifted closer and closer to our state borders.

But history is not something that can be repeated. The enemies of socialism will never attain a military superiority over the socialist community of nations and we will never allow ourselves to be taken off guard. No one should interpret the untiring struggle of the community of socialist nations for the strengthening and maintenance of peace as weakness.

We regard peace as the first and most important of human rights, because only on its basis can the well being of the individual and of whole populations be assured. It is for precisely this reason that we are following with close attention the Reagan administration's efforts to make the FRG its chief military assembly point and depot for nuclear weaons in Europe.

There is a close connection between this fact and the demand of influential circles in the FRG for a restoration of the "German Empire in its borders of 1937." We do not regard as a "momentary lapse of judgement" on the part of Ministers of Culture that, only a few kilometers away from our barracks, children in West German schools are being taught to regard the German Empire in its borders of 1937 as their purported fatherland. And we do not regard it as a lapse that, in atlases and textbooks cities, that for more than 35 years have been part of Polish or Soviet territory, are regarded as part of "German national territory" and indicated by German names. And especially because this is happening in schools it is particularly dangerous. It is here that the feelings of young people are being manipulated in the spirit of revanchism. Revanchism is thereby elevated to the rank of a state doctrine.

Border duty is front-line duty in peace, aimed at making a contribution to the success of peaceful coexistence and the maintenance of peace as well enabling our people to realize the program of the unification of economic and social policy, resolved at the IX Congress of the SED and further developed at the X Party Congress. This service is then in the truest sense of the word aimed at the welfare of our people. It incorporates within itself a deep humanism of action, a humanism which also includes the readiness and the capacity to deal out to our enemies a thorough and decisive blow.

This attitude of our border soldiers, proven a thousand times over, has brought us the esteem of the working people of our country and their manifold support has assured the fulfillment of the tasks that we encounter each day. It fills us with pride that, for example the workers in Leuna, Schwarza, Rostock and the cooperative farmers in the border regions speak affectionately of "their borderers."

Yes, indeed, we are an inseparable part of the working class, of the farmers' cooperatives and the entire work force of our homeland. To serve them we regard as our highest obligation. Forever at the side of the heroic Soviet army, we will carry out every task for the protection of the GDR, with profound confidence in the policy of the party, for the attainment of the general line even in the most complex and trying situations.

9878
CSO: 2300/94

ROLE OF PROTESTANT CHURCH IN YOUTH-LED PEACE MOVEMENT ANALYZED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 24 Dec 81 pp 3-4

[Article by J. Seidel, Davos: "The Peace Commitment of the Protestant Church in the GDR." For translations of West German discussions of GDR church objections to the militarization of schoolchildren see the following JPRS issues of this series: 71992, 5 Oct 78, No 1593, pp 22-28; and 71640, 8 Aug 78, No 1575, pp 58-66 and 67-70. Also available are translations of West German commentaries on related subjects, published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "Textbooks Indicate Military Education for [GDR] Schoolchildren," 79705, 22 Dec 81, No 1951, pp 33-36; "Synods Discuss 'Social Peace Service,' Church Unification," 79715, 23 Dec 81, No 1952, pp 16-19; "'Peace Corps' in Lieu of Military Service" (part of a series of related items published under the heading: "West German Commentaries on GDR Protestant Church Developments"), 79143, 5 Oct 81, No 1924, pp 19-25. For various other references to discussions of the same and related subjects see translation of a Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV article, published under the heading "Christians' Accommodation in Socialist Society Discussed," in JPRS 78569, 22 Jul 81, No 1901 of this series, pp 17-28]

[Text] In recent weeks, several Protestant church synods met in the GDR. In addition to discussing questions of church law concerning the unification of the eight district churches, the synods talked about a topic of general interest in the GDR and abroad: education for peace.

Social Peace Service

On 9 May 1981, a group of young Christians in Dresden had already distributed an "appeal to the parishes" in which they started an initiative of "social peace service": "We are looking for roads to peace. 'Reverence for life' commands us to make peace without the use of armed force and to direct our efforts toward saving life that is being threatened." They requested that the GDR Volkskammer make legally possible a "social peace service (SoFd)" as an alternative with equal rights to military service and substitute military service (so-called construction soldiers). The appeal closed with the request that readers who are in agreement with the draft text should so inform their respective district synods before 1 September 1981 (World Peace Day).

Within a short time, church administrators received hundreds of requests with signatures of 4,000 GDR citizens, most of them young people, in which the

churches were requested to support the initiative. As a result, synod members discussed these requests in their meetings, most of which were not open to the public, and then supported the initiative by majority approval.

Meanwhile, church representatives have repeatedly submitted this problem to state authorities and have, at the same time, expressed their concern about the continued militarization of life in the GDR. In January 1980, the Protestant district churches had already expressed in a "statement on the political situation in the world" their attitude toward the worldwide escalation of the armament race, toward the creation of enemy images through propaganda and the growing feeling of being threatened. Efforts toward peace can no longer be considered an occasional duty but must be understood and practiced as "one of the most important challenges to witness and service" of the church.

Early Beginnings

When in 1945 the danger of another world war arose, the synods of the Protestant Church of Germany (EKD) urged the world powers to keep peace. In 1948 the EKD synod fell back on the old saying that "no blessing will come from force." In 1950 synod representatives replied to the question what the church could do in behalf of peace with the following appeal: "Don't let yourselves become tools of a propaganda which promotes enmity between people and prepares for war." A similar appeal was voiced from Elbingrode in 1952.

After compulsory military service was introduced in both German states in 1957 and 1961/62, church leaders pointed out that the church is committed with all the means at its disposal to peace between people and nations, and that this includes the East-West conflict. The GDR bishops repeatedly asked their government to recognize a civilian substitute service, such as is possible in the FRG. The District Church of Saxony raised this issue again in 1968 when constitutional questions were discussed.

In 1976 discussions on peace in the GDR received another impetus when the Protestant Church formed a study group with the purpose of preparing suggestions for holding parish meetings with the theme "education for peace." These meetings as well as another kind of church sponsored event, the "Parish Peace Day" held in 1979, were based on the assumption that politicians needed motivation and encouragement for disarmament discussions against the background of disarmament sentiments in their countries.

When mandatory military science instruction was implemented as part of the GDR school curriculum in 1978, the church synod meeting in the same month took this for an opportunity to point out that it is now all the more necessary to take decisive steps in behalf of the education for peace in all walks of life. Connected with this is probably also the "statement of peace" by the two leading clergymen of the Eastern and Western German church on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the beginning of World War II. Keeping their distance from the political polemics of their respective countries, the churches consider it their foremost task to establish and practice their joint commitment to peace on the basis of the gospel.

Reply of the State

The most recent peace initiative--like previous such attempts by the church--does not meet with understanding on the part of the state which must meet treaty obligations within the Warsaw Pact and (according to State Secretary Gysi) stands for the principle of military strength as the basis of peace. The fact that the socialist state has so far not followed its practice of previous decades and responded with numerous arrests and deportations can be explained only on the basis of the present political situation of church and society. Thus far, the arrest of only two members of the East Berlin Protestant Student Organization after their trip to Poland has been reported. Both students were involved in peace activities in their parishes.

If the peace initiatives by the church result in a confrontation with the state right now, then the recently attempted integration of the church into socialist society would become impossible and there would be a considerable increase in the questions and suggestions submitted to the government by the Christian community. After all, a surprisingly large potential of social-charitable action and a large segment of ecologically minded citizens has by now accumulated in the church. The fact that the churches offer young people the space for dialogue and contacts which are unforced and far removed from ideological prejudices has brought the church a certain approval even from critically minded young people and has at times awakened their interest in questions of faith. By making the peace commitment of young people their own concern, the Protestant synods have at the same time risked in exemplary manner their prestige for the protection of the critics of the armament race. Thus the social situation of the GDR seems to nourish in young people a renewed interest in the church and its organization. This means that the state would hardly be able to risk a confrontation at the present time.

Let it not be misunderstood: the socialist state and the SED have in no way assigned a relative role to their claim for social and ideological leadership. On the contrary, renewed efforts are being made to win over the Protestant church for socialist goals. Instead of getting involved in hard ideological controversies, the state is trying to win the "productive forces of Christian faith" for its own national political system, and to show a certain amount of readiness for compromise.

On 13 May 1981 State Secretary Gysi in an address before the Royal Institute for International Affairs in London explained his attitude toward the peace concept of the church even if his explanation lacked clarity. He said that the church has the right "to act--in word and deed--for peace and prosperity of mankind without any restrictions whatever. Socialism has liberated Christians and the church from abusing their faith for purposes that have nothing to do with Christian commandments." Translated into plain language this means: the churches must examine their peace commitment in the light of socialist morality and measure it by the standards of SED politics.

A clearer statement was made by the CDU propagandist Wolfgang Heyl who in Vienna in 1979 made the following remarks while speaking as self-appointed spokesman for the churches: "We are able to incorporate into this new (socialist) order

whatever forces are inherent in our faith that contribute to the formation of society. This does not mean, however, that we use the gospel as a handbook for political decisions." These decisions are claimed by party ideologists exclusively for themselves. This statement signifies that the government attempted to cut off from the very beginning, in the churches and everywhere else, any discussions on pacifism in regard to military preparations in its own country.

The GDR "Military Encyclopedia" defines pacifism as an enemy of progress. "Because pacifist movements and tendencies in socialist countries are harmful to strengthening defense forces and thereby to maintaining peace, imperialism uses [pacifist] slogans especially...against the socialist countries in order to undermine their defense postures. This means that pacifist intentions in socialist countries must be overcome by whatever logical means necessary." The apparent contradiction of this policy to the fact that the GDR supports pacifist movements in Western Europe is solved by the explanation that in 1922 Lenin replied to Chicherin's concerns in regard to the attitude of the Soviet delegation at the World Economic Conference in Genoa: "You have fought against pacifism, just as I did myself, as part of the program of the revolutionary proletarian party. That is clear. But where and when did this party ever refuse to make use of pacifism when there was a question of destroying the enemy, the bourgeoisie?"

The GDR leadership manages to affirm its peaceful intentions and, under the same breath, introduce premilitary training for 11th grade students in extended high schools, as it happened on 1 September of this year. It is the purpose of these 12-day vacation courses to "provide instruction in the theory, knowledge and skills necessary for a career as motorized rifleman in the NVA" (National People's Army) and "to strengthen the defense readiness male students."

Pacifists--"Men of Peace"

This is the translation given by Bishop Rathke, Schwerin, for this word [pacifists] which is so unpopular with many politicians. The attitude of the GDR bishop is an indication of his readiness to take the risk of questioning the ideological position of the SED. Protestant Christians in the GDR feel very clearly that the socialist government is trying to cover up the "dissatisfaction existing under the socialist regime and coming from a feeling that former ideals have been made meaningless" by, among other things, stimulating the friend-enemy concept in East-West relations and thereby underlining the duty of defense readiness. Without provoking unnecessary conflict situations, the church on the other hand is trying to send out feelers of understanding in both directions. This was pointed out by the Protestant Leadership Conference in 1980. The most important passage in the report on this conference, however, was erased by government censors: "To make and maintain peace is not only a question and task of world politics but a life-long process which applies equally to the global level, the respective social levels and the intra-human level... In order to support the continued development of this process steps should be taken, e.g., which promote further possibilities of meetings between citizens of the two German states. There is a direct relationship between peace between the states and peace within a society. The ability to live with and solve conflicts in our daily life and society contributes also to the peace between the states."

Christians in the GDR must still take into account personal disadvantages when they object to the militarization of civilian life and try to support the elimination of enemy images. But if the seemingly impossible is not even considered or attempted, no change for the better will take place. (Hans Tschiche, Magdeburg)

8889
CSO: 2300/89

WESTERN ATTITUDES AT EAST BERLIN 'PEACE MEETING' CRITICIZED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Dec 81 p 23

[Article by Sibylle Wirsing: "Between Unconsciousness and Awakening — Peace, Poland and Mushy Western Ingratiations: The Berlin East-West Dialogue of Writers." For a Swiss commentary and SED report on the same topic see translations published under the heading, "Controversial GDR, FRG Writers' Meeting in East Berlin Discussed," in JPRS 79841, 12 Jan 82, No 1959 of this series, pp 11-16. A translation of a Hamburg DER SPIEGEL report on this subject is published under the heading, "FRG Writers Invited To Attend East Berlin 'Peace Congress,'" in JPRS 79549, 30 Nov 81, No 1946 of this series, pp 3-4]

[Text] The younger generation was absent when writers, artists and scientists from East and West met to discuss peace at the City of Berlin Interhotel on Alexanderplatz. Missing was the young German poet who carries "Sturm und Drang" within himself and political energy in his style, whose name is familiar to us through the "Robbers," "Goetz," "Homburg" and "Danton," and whose songs had visualized war on the horizon. Perhaps he had not been invited — perhaps he no longer exists, or people do not know him. Thomas Brasch — who was born in 1945 in exile in England, grew up in the GDR and has been on the move in the West for some years — stood in for him. He had this to say on the occasion of his visit to East Berlin: "I have experienced peace, and it was terrible. I have experienced a condition of paralysis, and I don't regard paralysis as peace." The quote made the rounds; people twisted it this way and that, contradicted it, attempted to mitigate its harshness and, when all was said and done, had to let it stand as it had been said.

Later, when the day of the meeting was almost gone, a woman was also heard. She said this: "The very first descriptions in European literature were of battles" — the thread of war has run through poetry since Homer — "I can't relate to that at all. It isn't my tradition." That was Christa Wolf.

The men had it pretty much to themselves as they sat down in East Berlin to discuss peace — a group largely devoid of young people and women. Most of them were carrying heavy baggage from the past, from which they fueled the conversation. There was frequent mention of what the two German statesmen Honecker and Schmidt had just affirmed at their meeting: Never again an act of military aggression originating from German soil.

Meanwhile, the Polish government had been transformed into a military regime. The attitude of the interlocutors in the Interhotel's banquet hall remained low-key. Robert Jungk, who had brought up the current event right at the start of the meeting, was applauded when he voiced a fraternal solution and made this entreaty: No raw force, and no threat of force. Poland did not come up again — the news lay there as though beneath a sheet of ice — until Stefan Heym, the East Berlin provocateur, broke the silence: "I have the feeling that I'm dreaming. Here we are talking about keeping the peace, while totally ignoring the fact that the fuse is already burning just a few kilometers away. I pray to God that what is to be feared will not happen." He would not have needed to speak more plainly to make himself understood, but he added this remark: "A world war started once before over Poland."

Participants like Stefan Heym were not the spokesmen, however. Stephan Hermlin, the initiator of the gathering, had caused the group to reflect on the prerequisites for the discussion right at the outset: complete openness and a high degree of self-discipline. But he had also anticipated the difficulties and the self-consciousness: "We don't know each other, or we've gotten out of the habit of meeting with one another."

The official title of the encounter was the "Berlin Meeting for the Promotion of Peace"; in other words, not a congress, not a conference, but a colloquium and a getting together again. For of course they knew one another and had done battle earlier, when the GDR and FRG had still been unaccustomed to being states and had yet to establish their own identities. Now, because of the common threat worldwide, Stephan Hermlin was engineering this getting together again after the many years during which German-speaking writers and artists from East and West had failed to gather for a public exchange of ideas. The motto of the meeting could also have been a stanza of poetry by Gottfried Benn: "Come, let us speak one with the other; he who speaks is not dead. But the flames are already licking hungrily at our woe."

None of the participants — those from the two German states and the others from Switzerland, Austria, Scandinavia and the Soviet Union — wanted to utter even a single syllable that would minimize the danger which, going by the name of "World War III," signifies the destruction of mankind, and which has ceased to be an abstract policy vehicle since America acknowledged for a staggering moment the possibility of a limited use of nuclear weapons. But in the great adversity in which they had gathered, in this dreadful mutuality of the European consciousness, the ideological, attitudinal and individual compartmentalizations seemed once again as developed as they had been before. So they sat together separately: enveloped by the concern expressed in Hermlin's invitation, a concern to which so many had given way, but separated by those boundaries, fissures and faults which only the German partition would call natural. For they pass through all vital areas; they have become custom, experience, biography and career; they have found adherents and shaped citizens. They determine education and the education of oneself, and they show up in the German language, which has been developing so many nuances of separation peculiar to the GDR and characteristic of the FRG. The common thought mechanism has become fragile along with the repertoire used to transmit it.

Stephan Hermlin declared the political hope for the discussion to be that of reducing suspicion and establishing trust. But suspicion is deeply embedded in the

material used for communication, material that has disintegrated in the course of the decades since the war. For example, a suggestion like this one — to use the word genocide in the future instead of war, the old traditional word — was possibly acceptable to the entire group. However, the inference imputing the genocidal tendency or effect to the defense ethos as well — to the extent of denouncing the minister of defense as the minister of genocide — could only come from a Westerner in this group and had to evoke among his Eastern partners the dismay that the Western inclination to bare one's soul and defame one's state has certainly provoked in a sensitive audience.

The effect of crude attempts at ingratiation with hosts and strange surroundings was seen in both the wretched willingness to compromise that had West Berlin's Ingeborg Drewitz mentioning the exodus of writers from the GDR — certainly a tragic thing — and the abuse of writers by a Bavarian politician in the same breath and Bernt Engelmann's sorry inadequacy as the first to proclaim his willingness to renounce the German nation. Mushy Western ingratiations like these, which lacked any historical or contemporary value, can scarcely have helped to create opportunities for understanding or to eliminate distrust. For no matter what, our GDR colleagues have had for their own socialist state a respect that has made criticism — that was not suppressed — possible at all.

The Western group as a whole may have learned from the writers from the other Germany a lesson worthy of reflection, as Engelmann did when he obtained from Erik Neutsch — a solid rather than subtle representative of socialist German literature — the information that even in the GDR it is not taboo to mourn the loss of the German nation: Loyalty to the laws of the state behind which one has lined up can differ distinctly and substantially from slavish submission.

No one in East Berlin practiced in such an exemplary manner as the former Stammheim attorney Axel Azzola the Western method of chiding the state in order to appear progressive and open to discussion. Then, when the GDR writer Rolf Schneider attempted with the same intonation to challenge his own socialist state, the effect was only dispiriting. For this much could be understood: Complete openness and a high degree of self-discipline had to be mutually conditional if the discussion were not to turn into a total flop.

The issue was that of dealing with political reality in a critical rather than a denunciatory manner. No one demonstrated this balance of clarity and astuteness as flawlessly as a man of letters whom one had previously appreciated for his gentle and consistent, ironically elevated and finely honed language, and whom one was now getting to know as a master of political plaintext.

He spoke of the peace movement in Western Europe; of the fact that those in the GDR were applauding the youth uprising in the West but then did not intend to tolerate it at home. And he asked whether this would not perforce lead to the impression of a double standard of morality: "One damages one's own credibility this way." It was the GDR writer Guenter de Bruyn.

Without a hint of the Western intellectual arrogance that tries to show off by exaggerating, he quite simply gave cause to consider that it would be in the GDR's own interest to support the peace movement. A brief reference to the young

Christians who are calling for a social peace service in place of conscription was all de Bruyn needed to illustrate his argument. And he carried this thought through without pretension by examining the idea that the arms race would have to come to a standstill if one side would give in as the wiser party. This had the ring not of a dilettantish demand but a proposal which, presented thoughtfully and temperately, was not without effect throughout the conference.

The wiser one gives in -- even nuclear scientist Klaus Fuchs had to defer to this idea. In his introductory speech earlier, Fuchs had described in such forceful terms how the Soviet Union was being forced to build up its defensive forces as a result of the U.S. doctrine of superiority. Then Fuchs later conceded at least that a nuclear-free Germany -- the FRG no longer integrated in NATO, the GDR no longer integrated in the Warsaw Pact -- was probably conceivable as a political possibility, although hardly imaginable as a political reality.

Robert Jungk sought to warn his discussion partners against entering an impracticable and unproductive area of discussion as vest-pocket strategists. But there was still a great deal of talk about which world power was forcing the arms race on which world power.

Guenter Grass's [illegible] that his fears of world annihilation were the same, whether through American or Soviet missiles, would not do. "Are you really afraid of the Russians?" asked Karl Wolf, president of the East Berlin Academy of the Arts and a member of the SED Central Committee. His tone of astonished incredulity made it seem as though Grass had claimed the sun was the moon. And in response to a remark by Hermann Kant -- to the effect that the Soviet Union had convincingly demonstrated its readiness for peace with repeated disarmament proposals -- Jurek Becker noted that it was ultimately not enough to repeat oneself over and over again: "This repetition is basically violent." But then what?

"We're talking like impotent people, and that's what we are," Thomas Brasch had said, and he had meant it angrily. But it was just this difficult and certainly imperfect confession of impotence that at the end of the discussion turned out to be a beginning: an unspoken farewell to all optimism at the City of Berlin Hotel on Alexanderplatz; a radical and total decision -- by those who, under the protection of the real socialism, would so like to be certain of their fine causes -- not to denigrate those others who are not sustained by any such conviction. Heiner Mueller's illusion-free definition -- that peace in Europe has always been a peace at war -- had to be considered just as valid here in this gathering as did Christa Wolf's passionate outburst against a civilization that has so systematically produced the material for its own destruction: "If it was capable of that, it is sick, perhaps mortally sick -- mortally sick."

That Christa Wolf herself interrupted a bit later with an expression of hope was decidedly of benefit to the entire Berlin meeting, for the good example that occurred to the poet was the meeting itself. Had any among them thought it possible even a few weeks ago that they would be getting together here to talk? Did the gathering not prove that the desire for something better can be stronger than impotence?

[illegible]
CSO: 2300/98

SED FEARS OF POLISH CRISIS' SPILLOVER ANALYZED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 2, 11 Jan 82 p 22

[Text] The Polish bacillus is apparently more virulent in the DDR than is known. There are mass resignations from the trade union, comrades in the SED are in rebellion. This emerges from the analysis by an SED member which describes party fears and strategy vis-a-vis the Jaruzelski regime.

It was clear to the SED leadership as early as November that something was going to happen in Poland. Erich Honecker said at the 3rd meeting of the Central Committee on November 19-20: "The confrontation is unavoidable, the counterrevolution is armed." This sentence is not included in the Honecker report to the Central Committee which was published subsequently.

The precise point in time, however, at which Jaruzelski established military rule was not known to the Secretary General. The SED leadership expected major disturbances and "decisive action" during the period of December 15-20, 1981 and, for this reason, wanted the Honecker-Schmidt meeting out of the way before then.

The GDR leadership have very mixed feelings about the Jaruzelski regime: Although the SED leadership assume that the general acted under Soviet pressure and felt pushed by the danger of the orthodox group around Olszowski and Grabski, they do not overlook the fact that the people who took action are not primarily those who consider a reestablishment of the old power relationships possible, or even desirable.

Thus SED leaders do not believe that Jaruzelski's statements on "renewal" are only tactical declarations. Rather, they are convinced that it is a more or less Polish nationalistic grouping which complied with the Moscow (and GDR) demand for establishment of peace and order to forestall probable internal or external actions by other groups. It is therefore the SED leadership line to infiltrate, through official support for the military government, Jaruzelski's policies by political and personnel means.

That is to say, the SED wants to support it [the military government] against internal opposition (Solidarnosc, KOR, etc.), but also works towards "liberating" it of "nationalistic elements" and to establish "international" minded people in Jaruzelski's apparatus. With this conception, the SED leadership see themselves in step with the Soviet position.

SED leaders are still greatly concerned about future developments in Poland. For one thing, they are not convinced that Jaruzelski's concept can actually succeed. Its own SED information shows that active and passive resistance in Poland is much greater than is surmised in the West.

Furthermore, it was Jaruzelski and Kania, his predecessor as party chief, who "held back" the army and security organs at a time when it was still possible to nip the opposition in the bud (an old SED leadership theory since 17 June 1953 is that such developments must be nipped in the bud).

The SED leadership also understand that a realization of Jaruzelski's concept, even with all the infiltration attempts, would result in a Poland that does not represent a simple or modified Soviet model but "something very different". And this would mean a constant stress especially for the GDR.

A member of the Politburo: "Here we are not dealing with the petty shopkeeping people of Hungary who—with the exception of industry concentrated on the Csepel island--sell salami to the West as their hottest export item and who, without great strategic importance on the perimeter of the Warsaw Pact, border on neutral Austria, Poland is a heartland of the Warsaw Pact, it lies between us and the USSR and is the second largest economy of COMECON. If the economic heartbeat beats differently here, it can lead to an infraction of the whole economic organism of at least those COMECON countries which are equally as dependent on export as the GDR."

At the same time the SED is plagued by many internal problems in connection with Poland, and the establishment of the military regime has not done away with that.

Even before December 13, Honecker sent a circular to all party organizations, managers of state institutions and trade union organizations in which he pointed to the continuing "dangerous" developments in Poland, a circular especially oriented towards "nipping in the bud" "with great firmness and severity" analogous developments such as the forming of independent trade unions.

Yet in many places there were mass resignations from the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation]. Among railroad workers of the Frankfurt/Oder district alone, 500 members in one fell swoop resigned from the FDGB.

There are similar phenomena within the SED. There exist letters from various rank and file organizations to the Central Committee with demands that certain matters (of a material, sociopolitical or political nature) be changed and functionaries removed because of their highhandedness; and the reasons for these demands end almost always identically with:"... so that it won't happen as in Poland". In every case the SED leadership took direct and quick action: almost always, all party leaders were immediately removed and greatest secrecy about the incident was imposed.

This explains why Honecker's letter to "nip in the bud" all attempts at forming independent trade unions met with widespread astonishment, since hardly any of the addressees had heard of such occurences.

At the same time the SED leadership must deal with a rapid decline in the population's morale. Major causes are the constant hidden price hikes and the continuing and increasing difficulties and inadequacies of supply in the widest sense of the word. The situation in Poland and developments in the world market and in the other COMECON countries no longer lets the population believe in tangible improvements.

Although SED leaders are certain that in GDR industries no strikes will occur like those in Poland, their concern is that a labor force which is resigned and also has no material prospects can be stimulated only with great difficulty to perform the work needed for economic development.

9917
CSO: 2300/115

CONTACTS WITH POLISH RADIO HAMS REPORTED ON 16 DECEMBER

PM221403 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 16 Dec 81 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Radio Ham in Contact With Poland: Reports of Clashes and Looting"]

[Text] Amsterdam, 16 Dec--An Amsterdam radio ham is picking up Polish colleagues who are reporting widespread uprisings in various parts of Poland against the Army.

In the most recent communication of this sort a Polish radio ham made an appeal for medications, antibiotics and bandages to be sent. Nearly all radio hams are saying that since the very beginning of the state of martial law Sunday morning there have been reports of fighting between civilians and Army and police units. Civilians are said to have made open attacks on military convoys, shops are said to have been looted, and there is also said to have been shooting and large numbers of arrests. Some radio hams in Poland have been arrested, or so they claim themselves, on the instructions of the Russian radio monitoring service [radiocontroledienst]. One Polish radio ham reported that civilians had lain down on the highway between Warsaw and the Russian obrder to obstruct the passage of military convoys.

None of these reports has been confirmed, and it is also unclear how the hams are able to gather information from different parts of Poland.

The name of the Amsterdam radio ham will not be given here, since he is forbidden by law to establish contact in this way with countries in a state of martial law. The Amsterdam ham refused to say where exactly his Polish contacts are, since this would put them in personal danger. The Amsterdam ham will pass his information on to Amnesty International. So far he has had contact with five different hams in different parts of Poland--one near the Russian border, one near the Czech border and one in the coastal region. All their call signs and locations are known to him.

The first contacts came early Sunday morning. Communication is on short wave frequencies, in Morse code, and outside the ham waveband, in order to make tracing difficult. The Polish hams broadcast SOS signals and reported comprehensive troop movements, martial law and demonstrations in named towns. Later in the morning they were reporting attacks on food transports and shops. Later there was talk of real uprisings against the Army in some cities.

The Polish hams fear for their lives. One described how he was sitting in the woods with two helpers each holding a 20-meter antenna wire. The small transmitter had a capacity of around 3 kilowatts. In the evening one of the Poles reported that another had been picked up. This information also seemed to be known to two other hams; later two further arrests were reported.

One of the Poles said: "I am running out of power. So I cannot live any more. We want peace. What should I do?" He was advised from Amsterdam to go to his family and hide the part of his transmitter with friends. The Pole asked to have letters and cards sent to him. Later he reported that a family council had been held, that he was not going home as long as it was possible for him to stay on the air.

Yesterday evening another ham gave a list of cities where civilians were said to be fighting with the police: Gdansk, Szczecin, Wroclaw, Krakow, Lublin, Krosno, Stalowa Wola, Ostrowiec, Walbrzych, Lodz, Radom, Torun, Nowa Huta, Elblag, Zabrze, Sosnowiec, Katowice and 10 other cities.

CSO: 3105/83

LULINSKI COMMENTARY ON DETENTE DIALOGUE NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 p 7

[Article by Daniel Lulinski: "Dialogue for Detente"]

[Text] The completed talks between Erich Honecker and Helmut Schmidt near Berlin have provided positive impulses for the continuation of detente and disarmament in Europe. The talks have confirmed that dialogue at the highest level between states with different systems is even more possible and necessary in a complicated international situation.

This is noteworthy, especially given the attempts of the Federal Republic of Germany to negate the existence of the GDR over two decades. Wider implications of the dialogue between the chairman of the Council of State and the federal chancellor become evident due to the role of these two states in European politics and in their alliances.

Erich Honecker and Helmut Schmidt could state in unison that the GDR and the FRG are guided in their mutual relations by the will to support actively the process of disarmament and contribute to the stabilization of international situation. The basis for their common assessment is found in the statement that the relations between both states should not be an additional burden on the relations between the East and the West. Besides, the common convicition has been expressed that a new war should never again originate in German lands.

This is not to say that there are no differences between the GDR and the FRG due to their political systems, in their views on the reasons for tensions and new nuclear missile armaments of the United States and NATO in Europe. Berlin views critically the role of the FRG government as a cosponsor of the famous armament decision of NATO in 1979.

Therefore, the joint communique merely states that E. Honecker and H. Schmidt presented their positions on the issue of nuclear arms limitations. They spoke in favor of continuing the process of strategic arms limitation and reduction, currently under negotiation in Geneva between the USSR and United States. After the talks of Leonid Brezhnev in Bonn, new impulses have appeared for activating disarmament dialogue in East-West relations.

The highest representatives of the GDR and the FRG have also drawn a balance of the process of normalizing mutual interstate relations initiated by the Basic Agreement

in December 1972. This balance is favorable for bilateral relations as well as for the normalization of the situation in this part of Europe. Nonetheless, the revisionist doctrines effective in the FRG on the would-be further existence of the German Reich within the 1937 boundaries hamper the solution of many basic problems on which normal cooperation between both states depends.

According to the coordinated foreign policy of the Warsaw Treaty members, the GDR makes the joint action of both German states for the sake of preserving peace in [this] sensitive area of Europe a centerpiece of its relations with the FRG, along with the issues of economic cooperation. This has been borne out by the present Honecker-Schmidt talks. The dialogue between the GDR and the FRG will continue; the invitation extended to Erich Honecker to visit the Federal Republic of Germany attests to this.

9761
CSO: 2600/176

MILITARY ACTIVITIES UNDER MARTIAL LAW DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17 Dec 81 pp 1, 6

[Article by K-cl: "In the Forefront of the Struggle for Order and Peace"]

> [Text] Four days have passed since martial law was declared in this country to put an end to lawlessness, anarchy, senseless strikes destroying our economy, ordinary brigandage, and political adventurism. The Polish public welcomed with obvious relief the actions of the armed forces which, in the new situation, took over the burden of responsibility for rescuing the country from menace.

The advance line of military action now runs across the front of struggle for political awareness, for maintenance of peace and order, for restoration of a secure atmosphere, for assurance of uninterrupted production and efficiently functioning offices and institutions.

Day and night, military sentinels guard facilities important to the normal functioning of the state. Army-militia patrols direct street traffic in cities. Special detachments of security forces assure efficient operation of labor establishments. Military plenipotentiaries--commissioners of the KOK [National Defense Committee] in various ministries provide substantial assistance to municipal and local elements of the administration in surmounting numerous urgent social and economic problems. Action against phenomena of speculation and dishonest self-enrichment at the cost of us all continues.

This is accompanied by intensified training of the armed forces on land, sea, and in air, in exercise areas and garrisons. The troops themselves, expressing their support for the decision of the Military Council of National Salvation, are pledging themselves to fulfill conscientiously their new responsible tasks in the defense of socialist Poland.

On the Seacoast

The protection of important facilities in the Tri-City area [Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot], the assurance of peace, order, and uninterrupted functioning of labor establishments, and the maintenance of order in the area of Gdansk Voivodship,

as well as the training of subunits, have become the principal activities of the members of the Coastal Defense Force during the last 4 days.

We have been informed by Lt Col Edward Kijek that soldiers in blue berets are, jointly with sailors and militiamen, performing patrol service, directing vehicular traffic on the voivodship's roads, and protecting the airfield in Rembiechow, the Gdansk TV relay station, the local radio station, and electric power distribution stations. Within the garrison, training and equipment maintenance are continued.

The professional cadre and draftees are expressing their amazement at the unawareness of the public, and especially of the younger generation, as regards the threat to the country and the consequences ensuing from the state's martial law. The servicemen unequivocally interpret the decisions of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] as the first step on the road toward the stabilization of the country's sociopolitical and economic life. The reigning conviction is that only resolute preventive action in all cases of violation of the mandatory martial law as well as the disciplining of all fields of society's life will help surmount the state's present situation.

Further consolidation of the military echelons has taken place. The servicemen display great mental and physical resistance and treat their new tasks very seriously. An expression of the support for the decisions of the WRON, of high civic consciousness, is the fact that recently nine soldiers in blue berets signed declarations of intent to join the ranks of the PZPR. The radical attitude of the servicemen, who believe that only shock therapy can put an end to adventurism, is mitigated by the professional cadre, the party activists, and ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth]. The credo which the members of the Coastal Defense Force follow in their actions is: apply persuasion but whenever martial law is not obeyed, apply other preventive measures, including force.

Among Antiaircraft Personnel

The members of the National Air Defense Forces are in a continuing state of combat alert. To them the state's martial law means primarily increasing their vigilance so as to prevent an uninvited "guest" from appearing over our territory. At the command post, mysterious markings are daily made on maps. Security almost seems ordinary except that the number of telephone conversations and messages on situation in the air is greater than usual.

The sunny weather on the fourth day of martial law allows introducing new elements into the training of observers, although the mist arising over the frozen soil does not permit long-distance reconnaissance. The sentry paces his route with measured steps. Around a nearby settlement, military patrols rather do more to improve the morale of the inhabitants than to protect against danger this remote unit lost among the snows.

In Zamosc Region

Yet another day of extraordinary combat alert among air force units, and yet another day of model fulfillment of their tasks by the servicemen. Every hour

of the service and work of pilots performing their varied duties throughout the country is valuable, the more so since the current tasks are more responsible than ever before, and more difficult as well.

This fully applies to the Technical School of Aviation Forces [TSWL] imienia Michal Wojtowicz in Zamosc. The military community there, too, like all others, has been charged with especially important duties ensuing from martial law. And, most commendably, it can be stated that every order, every instruction, is fulfilled immediately. The troops state that this is dictated by their civic concern for the country's fate, for assuring a permanently peaceful and successful future for the country rather than the future intended by the extremist leaders of Solidarity who had been leading Poland toward socioeconomic ruin, toward the brink of an abyss for the nation.

Beginning with the first hours of martial law, sensitive areas of Zamosc are under constant watch, and the assigned facilities are being protected. This is hard duty, also because it is being performed under the conditions of a harsh winter that is more rigorous in the eastern regions than elsewhere in Poland. Those assigned to round-the-clock, daily, and nightly patrol service in the city also get chilled to the bones by the time they complete their tour of duty. The fact that calm, peace and public order have not yet been disturbed by any major incident is due precisely to the members of these patrols as well as to other special services functioning in the present critical period. They all express the hope that calm will continue, that people will understand and appreciate in whose interest these actions are being taken and for whose sake these sleepless nights and daily intense work are being spent. This is the common view of both those who have been linked to the Zamosc TSWL and those who had barely a few days ago sworn their solemn soldierly oath of allegiance. Common belief in the rightness of their actions is cementing the soldier collectives, enhancing efficiency, and contributing to infallibility of actions.

As we have been informed by Lt Col Jozef Kupczyk, plenipotentiaries--commissioners of the National Defense Committee have also been delegated from among the personnel of the TSWL. Jointly with the assigned groups of soldiers, they operate both within the city and in other localities, facilitating and supervising the functioning of the local apparatus of the authorities and state administration, and actively taking part in the solution of the currently so numerous and complex problems of the local population. The attendant difficult and responsible duties in Zamosc are being fulfilled by, among others, the team under Lt Col Marcin Taroch: in Bilgoraj and Zwierzyniec, by the team under Col Leszek Wos; in Potok Gorny and Ksiezopole, by the team under Lt Col Emil Wlazlo; and on the area of the Zamosc and Skierbieszow gmina, by the team under Maj Jan Czajewski.

Despite the extraordinary situation and the resulting increased number of special tasks, the program for specialist, general-military, and political training on the school's exercise fields and in lecture rooms is continuing with the participation of the professional cadre and cadets. This is more difficult than normally, and some of the planned exercises have to be postponed. But everyone vouches that servicemen will receive adequate training to perform their duties in troop units.

It should be emphasized that civilian experts also distinguish themselves by their model performance of duties. There is not among them any unjustified absenteeism or tardiness, which is all the more commendable considering that many employees must travel daily to the school, sometimes over considerable distances. A characteristic fact--at least as regards the TSWL--is that the current special situation not only does not slow down the work rhythm but even intensifies it, which causes intensified activity and commitment to the performance of the duties posed.

Among the Personnel of the Kosciuszko Division

The introduction of martial law throughout the nation placed special obligations on the personnel of the First Warsaw Motorized Division imienia Tadeusz Kosciuszko. They attempt to fulfill these obligations as best as they can--and they succeed. They are additionally motivated in this endeavor by the fact that their commander, Brig Gen Jerzy Jarosz, is a member of the WRON that had been formed on the night between 12 and 13 December of last year.

In these difficult days, so important to the country's survival, an unusually essential role is played by the guard detachments. Special precautions have been taken. The guards under Master Sgt Ryszard Zawadzki were assigned specific tasks for the protection of facilities and strengthening of guard services.

A nearby settlement also has been taken under their wing: there, special patrols safeguard calm and order and watch over the safety of the inhabitants.

The repairmen of Lt Stanislaw Florek have their hands full in maintaining combat equipment in an efficient state. Similarly, the communications personnel are performing their duties on location. Among others, the servicemen under Lt Ryszard Bedek assure communication among the operating subunits.

Parallel to fulfilling these responsible tasks, the personnel of the Kosciuszko Division perform their normal duties associated with military service. Instruction in schools for reserve officer cadets and junior military specialists is continuing.

For the Safety of Labor Establishments

The martial law binding throughout the country has caused a change in the training program at military schools. Certain officer cadets have been assigned to protect important state facilities, while others safeguard order on the streets of cities and others still perform barracks service.

First-year officer cadets from the Higher School of Motorized Troop Officers assure the safety of several labor establishments in cooperation with the plant personnel. The men under Lt Zbigniew Miarowski and Lt Jerzy Panas cooperate with the workforce of the Organika-Rotika Odra Organic Industry Plant in Brzeg Dolny. The officer cadets from the detachment of Maj Bogdan Sambor engage in joint patrolling of the city with militiamen. In the last few days many long-sought recidivists with no known employment have been detained. The officer

cadets from the detachments of 1st Lt Wladyslaw Kalisz and Lt Bogdan Horbacz have recently been patrolling the streets of the Krzyki, Fabryczna, and Psie Pole districts in Wroclaw.

The personnel of the units of the Silesian Military District have been performing their duties in just as model a manner.

In the Coastal Region

On the ships and among the shore units of the navy, the training exercises ensuing from the program for general-naval and specialist education of the crews are continuing. In addition, tasks dictated by the martial law are being performed. The martial law imposes on naval personnel the duty of special vigilance in guarding the nation's sea borders. They are fulfilling these duties in awareness of the current situation and sparing no effort in performing guard service on Polish territorial waters and at the portals of the Baltic.

The naval community is expressing its complete support for the decisions of the WRON intended to halt the evolution of events in the direction of a confrontation that could have tragic consequences, to stabilize public moods, and to put the economy in order. This support is demonstrated by sacrificial service in standing watch on the sea under difficult hydrometeorological conditions, in the presence of stormy weather, frost and precipitation causing the ships to ice over and contributing to the difficulties of combat watch.

Representative of the attitude of the naval community regarding the most vital affairs of our society at present were the participants in the meeting with former activists of the PPR [Polish Workers Party--the embryo of PZPR], which took place in Gdynia on 16 December upon the initiative of the Navy Committee of the PZPR. Those present included the member of the WRON, Commander of the Navy of the Polish People's Republic, Adm Ludwik Janczysyn. The meeting, which was attended by, among others, PPR members comrades Gwidon Krolczak, Hieronim Klapka, Wladyslaw Maj, and Jerzy Koziarski, was linked to the 33d anniversary of the unification of the Polish worker movement, celebrated on 15 December, and it devoted considerable attention to the present situation.

A proof of the support of the naval personnel for the actions initiated by the WRON has been the numerous resolutions adopted at rallies of political and youth organizations in, among others, the Higher School of Navy imienia the Heroes of Westerplatte, the CSSMW [Training Center for Naval Specialists imeni Franciszek Zubrzycki], the Armed Forces Training Center for Divers and Frogmen, and among ship personnel. Many servicemen in navy blue uniforms expressed their support for these actions by submitting applications for admission to the ranks of PZPR. At the CSSMW this was done by, among others, Senior Petty Officer 3d Class Maciej Taranczewski, while among the personnel of coast-guard ships, PZPR candidate cards were received by three basic-service naval ratings.

Representatives of the navy take an active part in stabilizing the social and economic situation on the area of the coastal regions. Among others, Capt Jozef Jakobczyk, Capt Jerzy Przybylski, and Capt Franciszek Czerski are sacrificially and effectively participating in commissioner activities in the Tri-City area.

1386
CSO: 2600/192

MILITARY ACTIVITY UNDER MARTIAL LAW REPORTED FURTHER

After Eight Days

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 21 Dec 81 pp 1, 4

[Article by (k-ci): "Soldiers' Self-Sacrificing Service at Every Post"]

[Text] Our country has been under martial law for 8 days. The combat duty tour of soldiers of the Polish People's Army continues in airports and on ships and on ships of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Navy in units and garrisons.

Within an atmosphere of total involvement and self-sacrifice surrounding the activities they are undertaking in the name of the higher interests of the socialist fatherland, soldiers, in close cooperation with law and order forces, are maintaining order and safety in the streets of cities, villages and hamlets, they are offering considerable assistance to municipal and local elements of administrative authority and they are ensuring calm and conditions facilitating work in production enterprises.

Just as they did a week ago, everybody is following the development of the national situation with unflagging attention. Everyone is also expressing the belief that the decisions made by the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] under the leadership of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski will give a greater and greater sense of stability to sociopolitical and economic life, increasing law and order and safety. They greet the first symptoms of the intensified rhythm of work, improvement in supply and the reports of the successful implementation of tasks with joy and hope.

At the same time, they emphasize in their statements that every action which runs in the opposite direction must meet with firm, resolute resistance and the severe penalty appropriate for such transgressions. For it is only calm and productive everyday work which represent society's interests, most clearly understood, and offer the guarantee of its continued success in the future.

The Mazowsze Unit for Internal Defense named for Stefan Zbikowski. The decision concerning the appointment of the WRON under the leadership of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski is generally regarded in the unit to be ultimately necessary for protecting the country and the Polish people against catastrophe. Martial law, in the opinion of the professional cadre and soldiers in basic military

service, has become a dam stemming the tide of counterrevolution, anarchy and lawlessness. Fully aware of the fact that the effectiveness of this barrier rests with them, with their attitudes and with the dependable implementation of their service duties, from the first hours of martial law the soldiers embarked upon the implementation of new tasks with a sense of commitment.

They can still be seen at their posts in front of public service buildings, upholding law and order. Their colleagues back at the barracks are executing training tasks. Both groups talk about the events in Gdansk and in Gorny Slash, saying that it was high time that the provocateurs and madmen be stopped, at any price, from dreaming about civil war in Poland.

Work Rhythm

In spite of numerous limitations caused by nationwide martial law, the Military Armaments Plants [WZU] in Grudziadz are continuing the rhythmical implementation of repair-production plans. As we were informed by Col Tadeusz Jozwiak, the work backlog during the fourth quarter of this year has made it necessary to amend the yearly plan and to make changes in numerous organizational moves. At present it is highly probable that this year's plans will be implemented in full, the more so because the nationwide difficulties resulting from the shortage of raw materials and spare parts have bypassed the Grudziadz WZU.

Beginning with the first working day after the declaration of martial law, on which practically the entire work force reported for work, employees have been fulfilling their duties through Sunday, 20 December with much self-sacrifice. They know that the efficiency of military equipment and arms depends on their dependable work, and that coproducers are waiting for some of their products. Among the best workers are the production department foremen: Ryszard Grzonkowski, Ryszard Pawlowicz and Genowefa Klimczynska, Staff Master Sgt Zbigniew Jaszewski and Ryszard Gawinski, Roman Jedrzejewski, Franciszek Michalski and Stanislaw Rozek.

Employees in the departments serving production likewise are fulfilling their duties in an exemplary manner. These include: Hubert Podlecki, Franciszek Ostrowski and Stanislaw Uminski.

For the past 8 days, unbroken protection has been provided for the military plants. An employees' watch has been standing guard together with the soldiers.

Recognition for Tank Personnel

Approval of WRON decisions aimed at stabilizing life in our country and ensuring the safety of working people has been expressed in all units within the Silesian Military District. The soldiers give evidence of their support through their exemplary execution of tasks in all sectors of their difficult, responsible service.

The work and attitude of Maj Stanislaw Ptaszek and Capt Stanislaw Wysoki from the tank unit have been recognized. Tank crewmen from Lt Roch Sobieszczyk's

subunit demonstrate the proper attitude and sense of self-sacrifice in their execution of various tasks as they protect and defend state buildings. Law and order prevails around the buildings protected by them.

Wherever there are subunits of Silesian Military District units, often executing tasks far from their home garrisons, soldiers are warmly welcomed by the inhabitants, who even render them assistance. On Friday evening, e.g., Walenty Andrzejczak, director of "kamaz" was on his way to the transport base in the PGR [State Farm] plants and helped tow a military vehicle that was out of commission. Later it came out that 20 years before, Walenty Andrzejczak had fulfilled his military service obligation in the very unit from which the vehicle had come.

The youth are also offering their thanks to the soldiers for their sacrificial service under difficult winter conditions. On the initiative of the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] Voivodship Board in Zielona Gora, the young people set about preparing Christmas packages for soldiers fulfilling service in combat posts.

At the same time, the work of local and city operational groups is continuing. As we were informed by the leader of the city local operational group from the Wroclaw Factory city-district Waclaw Dyrda, many irregularities have been recorded recently in the operation of some trade enterprises, as have cases of speculation to the detriment of consumers. For example, 350 kg of fresh butter was found at warehouse supply No 478 on Szklarska St, while there was no butter to be found on store shelves. Moreover, 240 packages of sugar cubes, 10 kg of tripe of unknown origin and 2 cartons of bay leaves were hidden in the warehouse. Four kg of lemons, eggs, cured pork products and meat had been packaged to be taken out of the store. The articles under question were turned over to stores and an investigation was initiated against the salesgirl.

Aviation Training

The fighter aviation unit of the National Air Defense Forces [WOPK]. At first glance, nothing has changed here; life flows with its usual rhythm. But it is not very difficult for a more careful observer to perceive that the exigencies of martial law are in force here. The reinforced guard posts and the mobile patrols constantly walking their assigned beats are proof of this.

Not only have they been ordered to execute special services here, in the direct area of the barracks and airfield, many have also been delegated to other important locations in the garrison. Maj Eng Jan Osadczuk, Staff Sgt Stanislaw Rucilowski, Staff Sgt Krzysztof Rzemieniec, Staff Sgt Grzegorz Rosiejewski, Staff Sgt Ireneusz Wozniak, Staff Sgt Stanislaw Pazdziora and Sgt Jozef Gorny guard the nearby train station and river crossings, watch over the safety of an industrial plant and preserve law and order on the premises of a housing settlement.

None of these services were, or are, easy. The past several nights, on which the number of degrees of frost was in the teens and there were penetrating gusts of wind, created a special hardship. But no one complains; everyone is fully

aware that there can be no other way. For when the fatherland is in danger, outstanding service and devotion are expected of soldiers.

Despite the difficult conditions, they fulfill their obligations in an exemplary manner, their superiors say better than normally, with a greater sense of their individual and collective obligation, judgment and discipline. What mobilizes them to this is the consciousness that the special situation of the country and its people places such a duty before every soldier and every military group.

We may speak with equal recognition of those who are taking part in the usual training program. For although it is an unusual time for Poland, specialized, combined-arms and political training are continuing in the unit, as is the continual improvement of defense knowledge and skills. Due to the inclement weather, in the past few days primary emphasis has been placed on the technical servicing of equipment and on executing periodic checks on planes and mechanical vehicles to maintain them in constant and full combat readiness. The subordinates of such officers as Andrzej Michalski and Jan Bukalski have spent many hours of work together on this. Meanwhile, a program for the theoretical training of officers, warrant officers, regular noncommissioned officers and soldiers in basic service is being implemented.

The next flights are planned for tomorrow. Pilots will be expected to adapt both to a variant of normal atmospheric conditions and to difficult conditions. The pilots, who include Maj Marek Kot, Capt Andrzej Bak and Lt Ryszard Wilczek, have been preparing to conduct an air battle, to make interceptions and to make flights along routes. The planes have been made ready in the hangar and on the airfield pad; safety and security equipment have been made ready in other locations.

In Dolny Slask and Gorny Slask

It is the seventh day of martial law. Soldiers from the railway unit of the Silesian OW [Military District] are constantly fulfilling difficult service at designated posts in the area. The subordinates of officers Walerian Kabara, Stefan Grzesik and Janusz Kardasz guard railway stations, bridges, culverts and viaducts on this important rail line.

In the implementation of combat tasks directed toward maintaining the high efficiency and reliability of rail transport, soldiers work in close conjunction with the crew of Railroad Construction Enterprise No 5 and with the directorates of the Regional State Railroads in Opole and Gliwice. The subordinates of Lt Ryszard Kolodziej and Warrant Officers Jozef Wydrzycki and Stanislaw Polak execute the technical and protective tasks entrusted to them with dedication and determination. Their attitude, work and honest service help to ensure that the transport of raw materials and products from Silesia occurs without a hitch.

Railway employees in soldier's uniforms work particularly actively in the regions of Strzemieszyce, Pyskowice, Wroclaw and Brzeg. Everyone knows that

these are critical railroad junctions which are of vital significance to maintaining the continuity of train traffic. The uninterrupted work and production of many industrial plants depends on this. This is why there are very many tasks and duties connected with the efficient operation of the railroads on this line.

Fully understanding the stringent requirements and laws of martial law, soldiers in the railway unit of the Silesian OW take pains to serve at their posts as vigilantly as possible and to execute their work quickly and dependably.

There are also the practical effects of such an attitude. At the Wroclaw-Brochow station, the soldiers of 2d Lt Kazimierz Chudziak apprehended a group of thieves at night who had stolen goods from railroad cars. After apprehending the robbers, they safeguarded the seized goods and the location of the crime and turned the perpetrators over to officials of the Citizens' Militia [MO].

The example of the attitude of soldiers from 2d Lt Leszek Bak's group is another case of self-sacrifice and preparedness. Returning from their posts, the soldiers noticed a fire burning. They did not hesitate even for a minute, but hurried to the rescue. PGR buildings in Wilczkow were on fire. Six military railwaymen and their leader, despite the difficulties of working in the winter weather, set about with some other people to put out the fire. During this operation, the soldiers kept on working until the fire was completely under control, earning the recognition and the thanks of the farm crew.

Local operational groups assigned from the unit work energetically. Their tasks throughout the local area are directed by such officers as Jerzy Placzek, Stefan Lewartowski and Joachim Roszczyk. They, too, have completed a number of noteworthy law-and-order and economic tasks successfully in such places as Sosnowiec, the ghimas of Toszek and Twarog and Swierklaniec. For example, the director of the trade department of the MRN [Municipal People's Council] Presidium in Sosnowiec was dismissed from his position for incompetence.

The soldiers remaining in the garrison protect military grounds and installations and organize materiel and quartermaster supply for field groups. Effective work with the commission which supplies the families of the cadre with basic food articles is done by 2d Lt Tadeusz Jazwinski.

The Naval Watch

As at all combat posts, likewise wherever the navy serves--at the nation's seaside border, in the ports, on the roadsteads and in various regions of the coast--the soldiers in navy blue uniforms (today their drill uniforms) demonstrate unwavering fortitude and self-denial in the implementation of tasks resulting from martial law under the difficult hydrometeorological conditions which have arisen this winter on the Baltic.

Inasmuch as they counter the inclement weather with their resistance to the hardships of the sea watch and their skill in operating efficiently in every

situation--even though a fierce storm should rage or the frost should deposit great masses of ice on the ship, inasmuch as they hear the disturbing news of attempts made here and there to create obstacles to the restoration of public law and order, they react by resolutely continuing their tasks, the common goal of which is to rescue the country from danger.

In addition to tasks executed in conjunction with this situation, normal training is also carried out in naval task groups. For example, in the missile and torpedo boat task group led by Commander 2d Lt Commissioned Officer Ryszard Lukasik, the assignment of the programmatic task to prepare ships to go out to sea continues. This is the first comprehensive check of the general marine and specialized qualifications of crews; an evaluation of this check will be made during the new training year. The return to relatively simple tasks, to surpassing much higher thresholds of professional know-how and to broad cooperation on the marine testing ground stem from the regularity of the training cycle which takes into consideration periodic changes in the relay of sailors [on shifts].

The next shift quickly joined into the rhythm of work, including work on missile boat "428" which heretofore has done the best job of fulfilling the abovenoted program task. Those primarily responsible for success in training are Staff Petty Officer Jan Satorski and Chief Petty Officer Adam Krzaczek, holders of a first-class specialization in electromechanics and Petty Officer Andrzej Bogowicz, operator of instruments for aiming gunfire first class.

Current training tasks are being fulfilled in the missile and torpedo boat task group at a level which gives evidence that it continues to "fly high" as before. For 2 years it has led among navy combat task groups. It provides many examples of special expertise and very good seafaring form, as well as of deep involvement in sociopolitical activity, which at present is manifested in universal support, by word and deed, of actions aimed at stabilizing the national situation and strengthening the country's socialist system.

The party ranks are solidifying and growing within the task group. The number of people whose decision to join the PZPR was confirmed by current events has increased, offering irrefutable evidence of who it is that desires anarchy and disintegration, as well as the implementation of their goals even at the cost of the blood of working people, and who it is that is presenting a constructive program for getting out of this deep crisis, and is doing everything possible to avoid confrontation, tragic in its consequences. The sailors in basic service who are part of the crew currently fulfilling combat duty tours in one of our ports join in these, the only proper, tasks. The following young representatives of the cadre have also applied to become candidate members: naval 2d Lt Dariusz Adamczyk, naval Ensign Ireneusz Borucki and Petty Officer Edward Kociabinski.

They want to enter the circle of their comrades who adopted the following resolution at a recent party meeting: "The meeting of the primary party organization of the missile and torpedo boat task group expresses its support of the Military Council of National Salvation. We have long been disturbed as party members by the increasing anarchy in the country and by the counterrevolutionary threat to our fatherland of People's Poland. We have awaited decisive actions taken in the name of national salvation.

"We believe that it was the final moment for the avoidance of bloodshed, and to enable us all to live in peace.

"We guarantee that we shall execute all tasks laid before us in the state of martial law with determination. We shall execute them as befits soldiers and members of our party."

After Nine Days

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 22 Dec 81, pp 1, 6

[Articles by (Fi), (rad), (ms) and (rs)]

[Text] Nine days of martial law are behind us. They have been difficult days, unsettled days, but days of intensive work in most production plans throughout the country. Despite severe supply, coproduction and energy problems, work rhythm has been noticeably improved. These have also been days of sacrificial and totally self-abnegating service by soldiers of the Polish People's Army--soldiers in whose hands has been placed the fate of the sovereign, independent, socialist fatherland.

Society's acceptance of the priorities which mark out the direction of tasks undertaken on the basis of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] decisions is becoming more and more universal. Its resolutions are strict, drastically limiting citizens' freedoms, but they are indispensable for ensuring the country's safety and calm and for guaranteeing that all citizens respect the law. The strengthening of society's belief that the restrictions have been introduced out of greater necessity goes hand in hand with the increased support and recognition for the sacrifices of those who find themselves in the front line of the battle to enable our nation once again, with a sense of security and calm, to work for the good of the Polish People's Republic [PRL].

Soldiers of the Polish People's Army have been occupying important posts in this front line of struggles. Their sacrificial service meets with universal approval and the goodwill of the populace. This confirms the traditional ties linking the military and society. The nature of these ties is of the sort that cannot be shaken by unfriendly behavior toward soldiers by those who are not aware of the seriousness and the tragic aspect of the situation interpreted unimaginatively upon the instigation of counterrevolutionary troublemakers. They find fewer and fewer hearers.

Society's support for the soldier's service during these difficult days of national danger help the military implement not only special tasks but also numerous additional endeavors, e.g., help in snow removal from railroad structures, aid in acquiring fuel for educational institutions and help in the solving of many basic problems of society associated with living conditions.

In the Lublin Region

The entire staff of the Lublin Regiment of OT [Territorial Defense] named for A. Szymanski received the decision concerning the introduction of martial law

with seriousness and understanding. All civilian employees of the unit declared their support of the soldiers' actions in defense of socialist Poland. During open meetings, statements were made in the subunits concerning the rightness of the steps taken by the WRON. Soldier's groups clearly consolidated around fundamental tasks. The prevailing conviction among OT forces is that martial law is our nation's final opportunity for overcoming chaos, anarchy and lawlessness. No one in the Lublin OT regiment spares his energies in the fulfillment of his new duties with honor, for the good of the nation.

From the first hours of martial law, soldiers and MO functionaries together have embarked upon the execution of new, complex tasks. Separate groups fulfill the protective functions of guarding important city buildings, while the remaining soldiers implement the winter training-production program. Last Saturday and Sunday, OT forces gave considerable help to railway workers and to the municipal transportation services, devoting many hours to snow removal from railway stations and turnouts, voivodship roads and Lublin streets. They treat this work as relief, for the major law and order work is being done by all of those who have not yet received the news that abiding by the regulations of martial law is the duty of all Poles, and that violating these regulations will be punished very severely.

The Militarized Institute

For several days now, life has flowed with a different rhythm in the Warsaw Institute of Meteorology and the Marine Economy [IMGW]. An announcement of the institute with the militarized unit has meant that nearly one-third of the employees have been assigned new tasks and duties resulting from nationwide martial law.

As we were informed by the head of the IMGW military department, Capt Zdzislaw Miazga, assigned to this position for the duration of martial law, many reserve officers have been called upon to implement new tasks. These officers fulfill internal duty tour services and take part in protecting buildings.

The meteorological service is operating efficiently. While communications with posts out in the field has been largely restricted due to the disconnection of telephones and teletypes, cooperation with the military enables the collection of data, the preparation of daily communiques and the formulation of forecasts. Much meteorological information is obtained from radio broadcasts from abroad. The possibilities of linking up the activities of the synoptic service of the central office with the corresponding service in the Home Air Defense Forces [WOPK] are being considered.

The institute's hydrological service is undergoing considerable difficulties, which are at present making its work impossible. While this is not terribly important right now, in a few months, when the ice floes begin to move along the rivers, the lack of information concerning the water situation can cause many problems. For this reason, contacts are already being made with MO units and commands for the purpose of ensuring communications with central office posts. (fi)

The Help of Tank Personnel

On the 9th day of martial law, at all posts, soldiers from the Silesian Military District continued to execute the tasks entrusted them conscientiously and with great involvement, demonstrating their full comprehension of the existing situation.

The attitude of the soldiers from the 10th Sudetic Tank Division is to be especially highly regarded. From the first hours of the declaration of martial law until today they have been executing many responsible, difficult tasks, guarding important buildings and securing law and order in cities. The initiative of the officers, their experience and skillful leadership have enabled the subunits of artillerymen led by Maj Jan Sobolewski, Capt Zbigniew Bykowski, Maj Janusz Czuba and Staff Sgt Edward Suprowicz to execute the tasks assigned them thus far to protect barracks and industrial sites with great involvement. Law and order prevail in the streets patrolled by artillerymen. During the period of heavy snowfall, artillerymen aided city residents to remove snow from streets and assisted railwaymen to restore efficiency to railroad turnouts. The attitude of Sgt Zygmunt Krolikowski, who is especially active in the repair of damaged equipment, is worthy of high praise.

Reports of the model execution of tasks by all subunits are likewise coming in from another garrison of Silesian tank personnel. Recognition is due the subordinates of Capt Jan Skrzypczak and 2d Lt Wieslaw Nowosad, who, in addition to their many combat tasks, also help city residents to secure housing for the winter and to work out supply problems.

In Wroclaw, the army has continued its broad informational-propaganda campaign with the help of mobile broadcasting stations. The purpose of this campaign has been to inform the people of their duties in conjunction with martial law. Fliers have also been disseminated calling for calm and for respect for the orders of law enforcement forces and for the decisions outlined in the Council of State decree of 12 December 1981, which apparently have not yet become generally known to residents. (rad)

Society's Recognition

Examples of society's support for the soldier's mission are not lacking at the coast. It is particularly those soldiers who execute their duties in city and gminas, exercising receivership functions and working within local operational groups to maintain law and order on roads and streets who have the opportunity to hear expressions of people's recognition of the work undertaken in the name of higher national interests.

Residents of Gdynia's Chylon district demonstrate much sympathy for the soldiers of the Pomorze Military District unit which is serving at the intersection of the Tri-city belt with the outgoing route leading to Reda and then branching out toward Puck and Lebork. From the windows of nearby buildings, occupants watch the soldiers who stand guard here with confidence and approbation, as they serve near their combat vehicles, from time to time rubbing together their benumbed hands over glowing coal stoves. The sight of their uniformed silhouettes

compels one to reflect that thanks to the efforts of these people the streets are safer, there is no provocation, there are no assaults, no robberies....

It is not always possible to recognize soldiers directly for their efforts expanded in society's interest. And so one sees a military vehicle riding through a street, a snow plow attached to its front end. It is not known whether it will hurry to clear the route for a military convoy that is in some region of the city as quickly as is necessary, or whether it has been assigned specially to assist municipal services working to remove snow from streets. In any event, the driver in soldier's uniform has lowered the plow from driving position to working position. It sweeps by quickly, leaving behind a cleared trail in the street. The passersby exchange remarks of approval on this subject, as they do on many other phenomena of military services rendered to society.

The above-mentioned driver remains the nameless recipient of soldierly recognition. It is the same with sailors serving combat watch on the Baltic and waiting in readiness near the wharfs. As it is for the others, it is also pleasant for them to be recognized for the work they have undertaken, but what gives them the greatest satisfaction is the awareness that they are working together to create conditions fostering the restoration of law, calm and normal work free of fear and uncertainty.

The belief that the road selected by the WRON is the right one accompanies the fulfillment of tasks dictated by martial law and the implementation of training programs in naval task groups. Such is the atmosphere, e.g., on missile boat "421," which bears the name "socialist service ship." During the reporter's visit, final preparations were being made for a specialized inspection, the first program task for the new training year. The intensive preparations lead one to expect the same excellent results as have been demonstrated in the past. During the past training year, the crew received only very good and good evaluations. Primarily helping to achieve such evaluations were: Naval Lt Eng Wlodzimierz Morawski, Naval Lt Master Eng Andrzej Markowski, Petty Officer 1st Class Pawel Kaluzny, Petty Officer 1st Class Tadeusz Pyrcioch, Petty Officer 3d Class Ryszard Kon and Petty Officer 3d Class Marcin Kreft.

Sacrificially executing tasks connected with martial law, often far away from population concentrations, the sailors do not have the opportunity to hear direct words of public approval of their actions. But situations do occur which enable them personally to be persuaded of the sympathy accorded soldiers by their fellow citizens. For example, Naval Ensign Wladyslaw Bryczko recently stood at a bus stop on the Chylon-Oksyw line, in a hurry to get to his unit. For a long time, the bus did not come. Then a red Fiat 125 approached the stop. The driver stopped before the ensign, who was wearing his navy drill uniform and offered him a ride. He did not turn on the taximeter. When they reached Oksyw, he refused payment, despite the ensign's insistence. "Your service now is especially important, I don't take money from soldiers," said the driver and rode away. (ms)

Officer Cadet Initiatives

The exigencies of martial law have placed new service tasks and obligations, formerly not executed, before the cadre and officer cadets of the Higher Officers'

Radiotechnical School [WOSR] in Jelenia Gora. In spite of the fact that the school is safeguarding selected state and public buildings in the city, the training process has not stopped. In line with a decision made by the school's commander, commissioner of the voivodship KOK [National Defense Commission], cert eng Col Tadeusz Jemiolo, training activities and the implemention of special tasks are rotated. WOSR officer cadets, the officer cadets of the SPR [Officer Cadet Reserve School] under the WOSR, the cadets from the Officer Cadets' School and service and security soldiers serve in these shifts.

Numerous structures which play a very important role in the life of the city and the region are entrusted to the care of the soldiers in the steel-gray uniforms. Since martial law was declared, the company of Capt Wlodzimierz Zbierski has guarded the Jelenia Gora Meat Plants. Meanwhile, Lt Zbigniew Ciazynski's subunit protects voivodship and municipal food warehouses. Moreover, operational groups work within the city, directed by Lt Dr Ryszard Szczesny and Lt Dr Adolf Stachula. The groups guard Jelenia Gora factories and public buildings, they detect irregularities in the system of directing and managing production, trade and services, and they work to eliminate these irregularities. The intervention of a group in the Piechowice Karelma-Dolmel plants was effective. Here several Solidarity operatives tried to organize a sitdown strike on 14 December. The soldiers' sober argumentation led to the calling off of this senseless plan.

As we have been informed by Maj Wieslaw Marczyk, the initiatives of the officer cadets who performed the social act of making several dozen benches and taking them to several stores so that the people who had to stand in lines in the snow and frost could be sheltered under the roof, are noteworthy.

On the evening of Saturday 19 December, a line of about 200 people formed in front of the store at the Fish Center as a delivery of carp was made. A patrol led by Staff Sgt Andrzej Idczak intervened, and the sale of fish continued until 2100 hours. The frozen customers applauded the soldiers for undertaking such a decision. (rs)

After Ten Days

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 23 Dec 81 pp 1, 6

[Articles by (sr), (wier) and (tp)]

[Text] The 10th day of martial law has elapsed. We are all counting the days of this state of emergency. We are waiting for a time of normal life and work to come. This is why we listen hopefully to every bulletin about the national situation, about the intensive labor of work crews and about the sacrifices made by soldiers of the Polish People's Army and by law and order forces in maintaining social order and public safety.

Day and night, under difficult weather conditions, the soldiers and militiamen, upon whom martial law has imposed new, responsible duties with which to cope, unceasingly fulfill their service. As we observe their determined, consistent actions, their readiness to come to the immediate assistance of all those needing their support, we think of these young men who serve for our common good with gratitude and sympathy. We are conscious of the fact that only daily, honest work in every position effectively supports military guarantees of calm, social order and a propitious future for us all.

Soldiers from the capital mine-clearing group are experiencing difficult days. Added to their daily duties of deactivating explosives and dangerous materials within the city are new ones--disarmament and the confiscation of ammunition, unexploded shells and unused explosives found by MO [Citizens' Militia] and SB [Security Service] officials in plants, residences and the basements of armed band members under the sign of Solidarity, KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] KPN [National Independence Committee], and sometimes collected by young punks dreaming of a "big adventure."

Several times during the day and the night, combat engineers under the command of 2d Lt Jaroslaw Potocki are called to perform various operations throughout Warsaw and Warsaw Voivodship. The commander of the mine-clearing group says: "Martial law in the country has brought us added duties, although we already had enough to do. Our close cooperation with the militia means that we now go out to intervene more often. Last week, as we have informed the mass media, we seized explosives and dangerous materials in the Zoliborz District which had been hidden by 4 youths: over 200 pieces of ammunition, defensive shells, anti-infantry mines and homemade chemicals; there was also about a half-kilogram of trotyl. MO officials are investigating the sources from which these materials were acquired.

"We seized hiterto undiscovered dangerous materials from the chemical laboratory of railroad plants as well as a small amount of explosives, including trotyl. A high-caliber artillery bullet was also found in a factory in the Praga-Polnoc district.

"These examples are only a part of our service and work. Sometimes we are notified and intervene, only to find a piece of rusty metal or a tin can. But we take every call seriously, for often a rusty piece of metal may turn out to be a dangerous bullet." (fi)

The Gubinski Tank Crew

Constant combat duty for a soldier's posts continues within the Silesian Military District. Signal troops, tank personnel, mechanics and artillerymen, as well as soldiers from other specializations serve in these posts. They maintain order on the city streets and in factories. Resolutely they counteract all manifestations of the violation of compulsory regulations under martial law. The primary goal of the soldierly watch is to create conditions ensuring the proper functioning of offices, plants and institutions.

From the time that military-militia foot patrols and motorized patrols have appeared in the streets of Wroclaw, law and order have prevailed within the city. Sometimes it happens that unruly youths make their way into the streets, but they come alone, and are subdued at the sight of the armed patrol. The effectively operating patrols have gained much recognition among many of the city's residents. Among those serving in the street patrol of Wroclaw, the patrol under the command of Warrant Officer Jan Jurczyk, which includes the SPR [Officer Cadet Reserve School] officer cadets Staff Sgt Officer Cadet Krystian Jalbas and Staff Sgt Officer Cadet Zbigniew Swit, has especially distinguished itself.

The signal troops have taken on important tasks. They have the duty of maintaining telephone and radio communications between the military. Thus far, radio communications between the subunits of the Gubinski tank crew have never been interrupted thanks to the sacrifices of the subordinates of 2d Lt Piotr Michalado. One of the many factors which have an effect on the success of their execution of tasks is the high efficiency of their combat equipment. The snow and the cold mean that drivers and technical services have to be especially careful with the equipment they are using. Soldiers, e.g., from repair and transport subunits, and especially the subordinates of Staff Warrant Officer Jan Stepien, work under difficult weather conditions with a sense of self-sacrifice. Likewise the leaders of repair squads, including Staff Sgt Karol Pawlowski, Sgt Marian Sokolowski and Jr Sgt Jan Malecki play a major role in seeing that equipment is functioning properly. (sr)

Special Pilots' Tasks

The air force security unit. Another day of martial law. Like soldiers from other units and subunits, pilots also fulfill special tasks, issuing both from the stringent requirements of the current situation and from the character of the unit they represent. From the first hours of martial law, efficiently executing the commands and orders they received, they embarked upon activities which have the purpose of resolutely counteracting anarchy and lawlessness, as well as the counterrevolutionary actions of groups which are openly inimical to our country's socialist system. All unequivocally have demonstrated support for the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON] under the leadership of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski--support for the restoration of the collective feeling of safety, law and order.

Sacrificial service in every position is likewise being recorded today. Among others, the subordinates of Warrant Officer Henryk John, Staff Sgt Boleslaw Soltys and Staff Sgt Jan Zagaj, who watch over the safety of the civilian airport entrusted to their care, are executing responsible tasks. Sgt Dariusz Jakubiak, who resolutely made impossible a spy's attempt to photograph a special military installation, distinguished himself by exemplary behavior.

For the second time, the officers and soldiers in basic service delegated to city and local operational groups drove out beyond the unit. These included Lt Col Andrzej Trytt, Maj Stanislaw Plencner, Warrant Officer Piotr Gburek, Staff Sgt Stanislaw Hondo and Sgt Piotr Waliszewski. They work in such places as the area of nearby gminas, helping to solve various problems of the operation of the elements of the administration and to resolve problems of the local population, especially matters of a social-daily living character.

All soldiers not involved in endeavors of a special nature participate in the program of training activities and implement indispensable economic tasks associated with the functioning of the unit.

Interest in the national situation continues to be strong. All manifestations of the normalization of sociopolitical and economic life are met with universal relief. The soldiers stress: "The conviction among us is widespread that our country's lastingly auspicious future can be ensured only through productive work, social discipline and national accord." (wier)

At Transport Posts

The cold wave and the heavy snowfalls have created a perilous situation on roads and railroad tracks. Due to this situation, despite their serving at combat posts, soldiers from railroad and roads units hurried as always to the aid of transportation workers. Together with other military and civilian crews, they remove snow from railroad tracks, stations and hump yards and defrost turnouts throughout all regions, particularly in Slesia, Pomorze and central Poland.

The blizzard and freezing conditions make the soldierly service of military railroad and road workers especially difficult. They work in open spaces and are constantly stricken by the onslaught of winter weather which swept over our country so early this year. Despite these burdens, the soldiers of the steel-wheeled and rubber-tired roadways fulfill their duties sacrificially and vigilantly, with great discipline and self-sacrifice.

Some examples follow. While patrolling one of the coastal stations, Lt Henryk Aftyk together with his men, Stanislaw Sokolowski, Zbigniew Kuchno and Jan Paz identified a citizen after militia hours who, it turned out, was attempting to carry a substantial number of provocatory fliers and illegal publications in his baggage. The suspect was taken to the MO post. An investigation revealed two points at which these illegal materials had been printed on printing equipment.

The subordinates of Warrant Officer Tadeusz Suchowski distinguished themselves on 16 December by their worthy and decisive behavior. While guarding a railway station, they did not permit the group that was behaving aggressively to cause the intended disruption of order and public safety. The soldiers did not become frightened by the threats and attempted attacks by the rioters, they would not be provoked and did not leave their posts even when they were threatened directly. MO forces gained control of the situation, dispersing the aggressors.

The behavior of Warrant Officer Marian Witowski provides another example. While serving at a traffic-control post in Swarzadz, he tried to halt a passing Fiat. The driver did not react and increased his speed. The Warrant Officer successfully pursued the car. Then the driver tried to buy off officer Witkowski, offering him 18,000 zlotys if he dropped further action. The road pirate, who, as it turned out was intoxicated, was taken, of course, to the MO.

And so, day after day, military railroad workers and road workers fulfill their difficult and responsible service on the tracks, in the stations and on the roads. In guarding transportation routes, they work to stabilize order, the regular rhythm and the effectiveness of the transport of people and goods. (tp)

8536
CSO: 2600/173

BEREZOWSKI COMMENTARY ON BRUSSELS NATO SESSION NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 p 7

[Article by M. Berezowski: "Many Declarations, Much Uncertainty"]

[Text] Throughout the last week, various Atlantic [treaty] bodies took turns deliberating in Brussels in an annual session crowned by a meeting of the NATO Council with foreign affairs ministers.

Due to understandable reasons, the issue of medium-range nuclear armaments in Europe occupied the most prominent place. This issue is the focal point of both the military policy of NATO and the friction from the aim of many Western states to avoid the escalation of armaments, especially against the background of disquiet caused by this [factor] and revitalizing the antinuclear movment in Western Europe.

American diplomacy has secured the approval of its allies for the negotiation proposals presented on 18 November by President Reagan; with these the American delegation went to negotiate with the USSR to Geneva on 30 November. Along with it, a known two-year old formula has been included in the Brussels NATO communique stating that in 1983 the deployment of new American missiles in West Europe will begin, unless a prior agreement is achieved by the United States and the USSR on the limitation of armaments of this type.

Including a tough-sounding formula into the communique was justified in NATO circles by the need to ensure "negotiation credibility" for the U.S. delegation in Geneva. However, according to some reports, this formula was also used to dispel American apprehensions that West European governments will hesitate to accept new missiles on their territory; therefore, the idea was for them to renew their commitment. This uncertainty is also reflected in segments of the NATO communique where the existence of nuclear arsenals is justified (primarily addressed to public opinion in their own countries) by linking it with accusations of the USSR building up its military potential and increasing tensions.

Next to these notes of bias and accusation, declarations of sympathy for the disarmament talks with the USSR are found as well as statements on the necessity for constructive dialogue between the West and the East, which would create an environment of trust and moderation, leading to "genuine detente." The communique also asserts that Western states are not striving for military superiority

and are adhering to the philosophy of arms reductions. Unofficially, ministers of smaller countries talked about the benefits of bringing about a Brezhnev-Reagan conference as soon as possible.

A protocol of acceptance of Spain into NATO was signed in Brussels. This is the first extension of the sphere of activity and the military structure of the Atlantic Pact in many years. It introduces a certain change into the overall balance of power in Europe, especially in the Mediterranean zone. One less country in Europe does not belong to the blocs. This is not an element of the kind of "moderation" facilitating the search for military equilibrium at a lower level, which NATO elsewhere professes.

It follows from some dispatches that the ratification of the membership of Spain will encounter difficulties from Greece, which may use this as a lever to bolster its demands that NATO provide guarantees in Brussels, since they would amount to the recognition that both the potential agressor and potential victim belong to the same alliance.

The December NATO session assumed a position of ambivalence on issues fundamental to European security; armaments and negotiations. This reflects the state of temporariness in East-West relations, which have not yet emerged from a period of considerable deterioration but are not totally without chances of improvement.

9761
CSO: 2600/176

BRIEFS

SZCZECIN SHIPYARD STRIKERS' APPEAL--The Strike Committee at the Szczecin Shipyard, where 300 striking workers are surrounded by the Army, has sent a moving appeal to the free world. According to TIDNINGARNAS TELEGRAMBYRAA [Swedish wire service], the appeal was handed by a uniformed Polish officer to seamen on the ferry Pomerania, which sails between Szczecin and Ystad. From Ystad the sailors telephoned the appeal to a Pole in Copenhagen who has the status of a political refugee. The Pole passed the appeal on to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE. It has the following wording: "To the parliaments, governments, all nations and all people who cherish democracy, freedom and the rights of all workers: "In the face of danger to life and personal freedom, despite martial law and despite attempts to disarm us through fear, 100,000 Polish workers and patriots have risen to strike and to demand the repeal of the state of siege, the release of all those arrested and the restoration of all democratic and trade union rights which the nation has won since August 1980. We appeal to you: Support us in our struggle with a massive protest and with moral support. Do not just watch passively the attempts to choke the first shoots of budding democracy in the heart of Europe. Be with us in this time of trial. Solidarity with Solidarity. Poland is not yet lost. [Signed] Szczecin Shipyard and Port Strike Committee." [Text] [PM211131 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 16 Dec 81 p 1]

CSO: 3106/55

YOUTH PAPER PUBLISHES QUESTIONS ON ACTIVITY OF RELIGIOUS SECTS

[Editorial Report]--The following questions by Milena Mihaescu, follow an article by University Lecturer Arcadie Percek, from the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy in Bucharest, entitled: "The Ravages of Religious Awareness at the Present Time" in the 16 December 1981 issue of VIATA STUDENTEASCA, published in Bucharest by the Union of Communist Students Associations of Romania, page 7:

1. What is the explanation for the maintaining of the religious phenomenon under conditions of our socialist society?

2. What are the similarities and differences between "sects" and "cults" as types of religious communities? Since they consider themselves to be a form of "protest" against traditional religious precepts, can one say that the sects are, in effect, opposed to religious belief?

3. Give some of the main consequences of the practices of the sects, from a psychological and social standpoint.

4. What are the sources which nurture protest of the sects against civilization and culture--a protest whose extreme form is prophesying the end of the world?

5. How can one explain the belief of the youth in practices and ideas of the sects under the conditions of the scientific spirit which governs our age?

6. In what way can the intervention of the collective and of youth organizations for the elimination of the religious convictions of some young people become effective?

CSO: 2700/148

TERMS APPLICABLE TO TERRITORY OF SERBIA REVIEWED

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25, 26 Nov 81

[Article by Branislav Brboric: "The Names for the Republic of Serbia"]

[25 Nov 81 pp 12-13]

> [Text] On several occasions during the last few months--in forums of the League of Communists, in state agencies, in the press (and even in this newspaper), and in pamphlets--relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia have been discussed. (The expression "relations between the Republic and the provinces" is often used, although as the author of this article notes, either the relationships of the agencies and organizations of the Republic with those in the provinces, or the relationships among parts of the Republic should be discussed, i.e., the relationships of the narrower area with the provinces, or the relationships between the two provinces.) People rarely speak, however, about linguistic problems in connection with ambiguities and awkwardness in an "extra-linguistic" sphere or, conversely, about the effect of linguistic awkwardness on nonlinguistic relationships and circumstances.
>
> The text which we are presenting in two installations deals in fact with some linguistic aspects of the above problems. Although we of course cannot agree with all of the opinions and formulations in this text, we believe that clearing up some of the linguistic aspects of this problem as well may be useful in the talks that are yet to be conducted on this topic.

It has been clear for some time that something is wrong with the names for our republic, or rather for the narrower part of it, and not just to linguists, since it is clear that the problem is not only of a linguistic nature.

Kosta Timtijevic wrote about this in BORBA 5 or 6 years ago, arguing for the most part with the term "Serbia without the provinces," in regard to which he said that it is only logical insofar as it would be logical to say "beans without meat." According to Timotijevic, the expressions "Bosnia without Hercegovina," "Croatia without Dalmatia," and so forth correspond to this construction, regardless of whether certain traditional provinces (Hercegovina and Dalmatia) are sociopolitical communities.

The Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly should be recognized for having included the issue of the name of the Republic in its agenda in mid-October, and this is the immediate occasion for us to attempt to examine the (dis)-similarity of certain terms from a (socio)linguistic standpoint.

First of all, however, it should be said that a term should be differentiated from a name. The only term that we use to designate the Republic is the Serbian SR, and everything else that is encountered in newspapers and elsewhere, and that was mentioned at the meeting of the Republican Executive Council on 14 October (the Serbian SR without the socialist autonomous provinces, the Serbian SR outside of the socialist autonomous provinces, the territory of the Serbian SR without the socialist autonomous republics, the territory of Serbia without the provinces, the Serbian SR without the provinces, Serbia proper, and others) is names, not terms, and furthermore names for the narrower area within the Republic. We could also recognize the truncated name "Serbia" as having the value of a term, as is done elsewhere: the "Soviet Union" instead of USSR, "Great Britain" instead of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, etc.

What Is Undisputed?

The reason why so many names for the Republic (that is for the largest part of it) have appeared is of a nonlinguistic nature: until 10-15 years ago one could sometimes encounter the name "Serbia proper" for the "territory 'outside' the socialist autonomous republics"; Timotijevic considers this one better than the others and believes that it has been denounced because it has frequently been reduced as a joke to an abstract noun which is obtained by combining the epithet "proper" with the first letter of the noun "Serbia." [i.e. resulting in "uzas"--"horror"] Timotijevic furthermore remarks that in addition to the denounced one, the name "the Serbian SR not counting the provinces" could sometimes be used; this was less commonly used. Regarding the name "Serbia without the provinces," he felt, and the author of these lines does not differ from him on this, that it is "senseless" and that it is linguistically and logically indefensible.

The Serbian SR, as is clear to everyone, is not a simple community; it contains two provinces, the only two Yugoslav provinces that are autonomous units with broad authority. Serbia has been like this since 1945 (to tell the truth, until the 1963 Yugoslav Constitution one of these provinces was a "region" and was called "Kosovo and Metohija," with rights and responsibilities identical in all essential respects with those of the autonomous province of Vojvodina), but nevertheless at first, and for a long time, we were not faced with a flood of indefensible names.

The Serbian SR and earlier the Serbian People's Republic has been a sociopolitical and state community only as a whole, and has been considered a "federal unit" only as a whole (both under AVNOJ [the Antifascist Council for the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia] and for a long time after the war there were six of them, and that is how many torches are on our seal). Recently, however, people have been talking about a larger number of "federal units," of which there are

eight, according to some Belgrade newspapers; this both is and is not correct. "It both is and is not correct"--this is a sentence which is quite correct grammatically, regardless of its "extragrammatical" logic, and it is also a reality to which we owe the abundance of names.

Where Has the Flood of Names Come From?

One thing, however, is both clear and inarguable: the narrower area of our republic is not constituted formally and legally, by any constitution of our socialist state, as a separate state and sociopolitical community; it thus does not exist as such. Only the "broader area" composed of it and the provinces, which it "contains," formally exists as a sociopolitical and state community. Even if we ignore the malicious gossip that "what actually does not exist, exists formally" and that "what formally does not exist, actually does exist" the insufficiently clarified duality is the objective cause for the flood of names (let us explain this: the provinces are a "component part" of the Serbian SR and a "constituent element" of the federation which includes the Serbian SR itself, as a whole, as a constituent element or component of the federation).

In spite of the above-mentioned duality, it is possible to raise the question: could this flood of parasitical names have been avoided?

It could have been and can be avoided, although in our everyday sociopolitical life almost none of the data and almost none of the information is given for the whole. Even some of the results of the recent census of the population have been reported to us only for the provinces, rather than for the republic as a whole, although the Kosovo census was a little late.

The expression "in our republic," which is so frequently heard throughout Yugoslavia, has almost not been heard at all in our provinces for at least 10 years, even though they are "part of" the Serbian SR. On the other hand, another expression, the one that uses "in our country" to refer to our federal state, is used almost everyday in our two provinces, as much as in the narrower area or in the other republics (which is all right in itself), although the provinces are at least equally "part of" our republican state as such as they are "constituent elements" of our federal state. According to the Constitution they are, and in linguistic and extralinguistic practice they are not, although the expressions "component" and "constituent element" mean the same thing and are synonymous (the first is an expression in the popular language, and the second is part of international terminology).

When the relationships are cleared up--and we believe that they can be cleared up without changing but rather by applying the constitution--it is worthwhile to hope for more of a balance in the use of the expressions "component" and "constituent element" and for even more of a balance in what we could designate as the harmony between word and deed, between language and reality.

Even when this harmony is established, however, the problem remains of how we will refer to the "territory of the Serbian SR without the territories of the socialist autonomous provinces," which is more or less an incidental constitutional name. "This is a question of territory," according to a recent article in POLITIKA. "The only way out of this confusion over the name of the Socialist

Republic of Serbia is to return to the provisions of the constitution"--one of the key sentences in POLITIKA's report of the Serbian Republican Executive Council meetings (15 October 1981).

According to the central part of this article, "The Serbian SR, as a self-managing state community, is a single whole. The territory of the Serbian SR, however, can be treated in two ways: by referring to the entire territory of the Serbian SR and by referring to the part of the territory of the Serbian SR without the territory of the socialist autonomous provinces. Not even then, however, does one speak of the Republic without the socialist autonomous provinces as a sociopolitical self-managing community. One always speaks of the territory. This is therefore, according to the explicit decision adopted yesterday by the Executive Council, the meaning of the constitutional text which refers to the 'territory of the Serbian SR without the territory of the socialist autonomous provinces.'"

Although this newspaper report cannot be considered too clear, the following can still be determined from it and from the discussion that it reports: "the territory of the Serbian SR without the territory of the socialist autonomous republics," which is the name used in the Constitution (not very defensible grammatically), is only a "territory," only a geographic concept and not a political one; this territory is not a "sociopolitical," "self-managing," or "state" community, but rather a primarily geographic concept which we supplement, like other such concepts (for example, Jadar, Stig, Branicevo, Sumadija) with other nongeographic contents.

[26 Nov 81 p 13]

[Text] For a Harmony of the Linguistic and "Natural"

As a geographic and political concept, and as a historical and political reality Serbia, both as a concept and as a name, in a historical retrospective covers various "territories."* This concept "moves," expands or contracts, sharing the fate of the people (never "ethnically pure") who inhabit or inhabited this territory. When and what happened in regard to this to Serbia and within Serbia

*Geographic and political concepts do not have to be identical in the minds of people who belong to different generations or even to the same ones. Some "districts" in the present narrower area of Serbia were only liberated from the Ottoman Empire and "annexed" to Serbia in 1878 (for example, the Toplica district which is today neither a "district" nor an "intercommunal regional community"); for a long time after that the inhabitants of Toplica would refer to the areas farther into Serbia, for example those near Kragujevac, as "over there in Serbia," even though they had been in Serbia themselves ever since 1878. Serbia has been within its present borders as a state and as one of the six federal units of Yugoslavia since 1945; there has already been plenty of time for the majority of its inhabitants under 50 years of age to straigten out and coordinate their concepts, names, and terms. Such an accord nevertheless does not exist, to some extent because the necessary new names and precise definitions of the accepted names do not exist.

should be clear to us. Recently, however, it was possible to read that some parts of the present Serbian SR such as, for example, Kosovo and Metohija, were annexed in 1945, although everyone ought to know that Kosovo and Metohija were liberated from the Ottoman Empire in 1912 and afterwards, according to internationally recognized treaties, were a constituent part of Serbia (and partially of Montenegro until 1918). Istria was liberated in 1945 and annexed to Croatia and Yugoslavia, but until then was a constituent part of Italy. Thus, Kosovo was not annexed to Serbia in 1945, but rather received a certain degree of autonomy in that year, without having ceased to be a constituent part of Serbia since 1912.

In accordance with this, the concept and name of Serbia, in any sense--geographic, political, economic, or any other--covers and can cover only the "broader" area, all three of the "territories" together. In the legal sense, Vojvodina and Kosovo are no less a constituent part of Serbia than Kragujevac, for example. The narrower area of the Serbian SR, regardless of the fact that it is only a geographic concept that we are in any case supplementing every day with other nongeographic contents, deserves its own name, a well thought-out name and usable term that will not have a state-political meaning.

(One could consider the names Raska or Sumadija, which was sometimes used before the war in a broader sense, or some others, although Raska--or Rascia, as Djamil Sijaric would say--would be more suitable, as a term with a historical tradition. This should by no means be considered a proposal, but simply a possibility that is worth discussing, because the term Serbia, as long as it includes all three "territories," can be considered only for the community of these three territories, and not at all for the central part, which is neither a sociopolitical nor a state community, but only a group of communes between Zemun, to the far north, and Presevo, to the far south.)

The Territory "Without the Territory"

The need to establish a name for the narrower area will remain even if some existing disputes are settled: even if the provinces are only what they should be in accordance with the meaning of the word autonomy (self-rule): autonomous units with more autonomous rights than the other parts of the republic as a state, without the "classical" state jurisdictions which would necessarily atrophy in time on both the federal and republic levels.

The name selected for the narrower area (whatever it is) would thus have the same meaning as, for example, the name Hercegovina, which is not a separate sociopolitical community (although its name is part of the compound name of the republic), but rather a territory on which a certain number of communes are located (it is precisely known which ones), the traditional name of a territory which has expanded and contracted, with a primarily geographic significance, although here and there one may encounter the expressions "Hercegovinian agriculture" or "Hercegovinian poetry," without any reference to broader political or national aggregates. If we are to find a name for the narrower area, we must resolve certain important problems in communication (reaching an agreement), and we must resolve at least some linguistic problems.

Until we find some suitable name (if possible consisting of one word), the names "Serbia proper" (which is not the best name, although it does suggest that a "broader Serbia" exists) or the "narrower area of Serbia" retain some logic and usefulness, which, unfortunately, the name "the territory of the Serbian SR without the territory of the socialist autonomous provinces" ("the territory without the territory") does not possess.

If we were to insist on the constitutionality of the expression "the territory without the territory," we would have to refrain from using the name "the narrower area of the city," which appears in many legal documents and introduce such names as "the territory of the city of Belgrade without the territory of the villages and suburban communes" (for the narrower area of the city), "the territory of the city of Belgrade without the territory of the Zemun and New Belgrade communes and without part of the territory of the Palilul commune"; some other absurd combinations of names are possible, such as "Belgrade without Zemun and New Belgrade"--it is amazing that this combination has not already appeared.

What Relationships Are Possible?

Finally, we should warn that it is not logical to speak about the "relationships of the Serbian SR and the autonomous provinces" (as has been done, as the 1 November 1981 NIN reports in the article "Scholars About the Provinces," by the participants in a discussion in the Serbian SR Association for Political Sciences); the whole cannot have relationships with parts that comprise it, unless the relationship of the narrower area to the provinces is in question.

If one speaks about the relationship of the whole and the parts in such a manner, at least two errors are made: the narrower area is identified with the whole, and the provinces are excluded from the whole. The parts, of course, can have "relationships" with each other, but the whole cannot have relationships with the parts that comprise it, unless, naturally, they happen to be outside of its composition.

The relationship of the Serbian SR authorities and the socialist autonomous province authorities is another matter, which can and must be discussed, just as it is possible to discuss the relationship of Yugoslav authorities and the authorities of the republics and provinces. Also unacceptable is the frequently encountered expression "all of our republics and provinces," because it fails to consider both the Serbian SR, which does not exist without the provinces, and the "narrower area of Serbia," which is neither a republic nor a province.

Something is wrong with these expressions. Although linguistic and "natural" logic clearly do not have to coincide, some sort of harmony must exist. If we agree that even according to the constitution(s) the three "territories" that make up the Serbian SR would in any case be somewhat closer to each other than the six or eight territories that make up Yugoslavia, how is it that we never come across the expression "the SFRY without the Slovenian SR" or something similar? Is it possible for the expression "component" to be left without

meaning, while the expression "constituent element" means everything, even what it cannot and should not mean?

I think it is undeniable that we need clarity and precision in relationships, both in language and outside of it; we need to resolve sociolinguistic problems that are both linguistic, social, and political.

9909
CSO: 2800/170

POPE'S STATEMENT TO YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Dec 81 p 5

[Report of Statement by Pope John Paul II upon Receiving the Yugoslav Ambassador on 10 December 1981: "Acting Presence of the Catholic Community in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Zvonimir Stenek, Yugoslavia's new extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador to the Holy See, delivered his credentials to Pope John Paul II on Thursday, 10 December 1981. On that occasion, Comrade Stenek greeted the Holy Father on behalf of the Presidency of the SFRY. He expressed the Yugoslav government's gratitude to the Pope for his intercession for peace in the world and for more just relations among peoples. Recalling the messages that were exchanged by President Josip Broz Tito and Pope Paul VI in their time, Stenek stated that the two of them thereby laid firm foundations for international cooperation between the SFRY and the Holy See. According to Ambassador Stenek's statement, relations between the SFRY and the Holy See are now stable and Yugoslavia is interested in strengthening this cooperation. In his salutation address, Stenek also mentioned the Belgrade Protocol, which is a good basis for enhancing these relations, as was also emphasized in last year's meeting between President Mijatovic and the Holy Father.

In response to the Yugoslav ambassador's greeting, Pope John Paul II made the following statement:

"Mr Ambassador!

"I welcome Your Excellency and thank you for the words that you have just expressed upon officially taking up your post as the extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the Holy See.

"You have expressed your country's devotion to certain principles which are truly necessary for establishing and maintaining world peace. These principles are after all in accordance with the UN Charter: full respect for the independence of peoples under conditions of equality and without the abuse of guardianship; understanding their problems, their cultural characteristics and their just demands in international relations; their right to organize their development freely under democratic conditions without discrimination; concern for settling disputes through negotiation and on a basis of mutual equality; sincere and mutual acceptance of a true limitation of the arms race, which is being increased

more and more dangerously and extravagantly, in the face of the extreme poverty of so much of the population of the world.

"As Your Excellency emphasized, the Holy See values these aims and encourages their realization, assisting this in its bilateral relations and in its intercessions with international organizations, as well as in all of its messages addressed to the conscience of people of good will. It is doing this in accordance with its spiritual mission and with the objectivity made possible by its universal openness, taking into account the dignity of every people and every individual. In the international area, the diplomatic relations between the Holy See and your government, which were resumed after the signing of the Belgrade Protocol, are of such a nature that they promote a devoted search for better conditions and peace and cooperation among peoples, and it is my desire that they may be more and more fruitful.

"These relations also obviously affect the active presence of the Catholic community in Yugoslavia, as I had the honor to emphasize to His Excellency Cvijetin Mijatovic, then the President of the Presidency of the Republic, during his much-appreciated visit last year. The Catholics of your country, in accordance with the fundamental right that everyone already recognizes, at the level of the United Nations as well, quite naturally want to see room for their spiritual freedom ensured on an individual and community level, for everything contained in the demands and characteristics of the evangelic message to which they cling, as I stressed in a document on religious freedom that I sent on 1 September 1980 to all of the heads of states that had signed the Helsinki document. These Catholics from the various Yugoslav peoples, devoted to their country and working for the general good, also want to offer their own contribution to the progress of civil society for the enhancement of human welfare, as they have amply demonstrated. In the spirit of the community that links them with the successor of the Apostle Peter, I can confirm here the great respect and profound confidence that I have in them, and especially in the Yugoslav bishops, who are so zealous in their pastoral activity.

"It is truly possible for differences over certain issues to arise between the state and the Church, each of which is responsible for human welfare in different ways and in a complementary manner. These difficulties, however, should not be exacerbated at the expense of legal rights or remain without a just solution. In order for them to be overcome, it is sufficient for these authorities to show mutual understanding and active good will while respecting each other. The Church is always willing in such cases to engage in a dialogue on all levels, and hopes that the various authorities in Yugoslavia will have an equally favorable attitude. It will do you credit, Mr Ambassador, to assist in paving the way for the benefit of everyone.

"I leave it to you to thank His Excellency Sergej Kraigher, the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, for the good will that you have expressed to me, and to inform him of my good wishes for the success of his high responsibility in the service of all. I extend my good wishes to all of the inhabitants of Yugoslavia, whose efforts I appreciate, also taking to my heart their afflictions, such as the airplane disaster that recently killed so many people, and likewise their longings for happiness, progress and peace. And you, Mr Ambassador, may be assured that you will always be received with pleasure here and that you have my best wishes for the noble mission that you are beginning today."

9909
CSO: 2800/173

BRIEFS

ALBANIAN NATIONALISTS IN PLAV AREA--In a statement by the secretary of the Plav [Montenegro] Opstina LC Conference at a 13 January 1982 meeting it was stated that the events of last spring in Kosovo had had a negative influence also in the Plav Opstina area. Several incidents by individuals were noted including the writing of hostile slogans, the erasing of inscriptions in Serbo-Croatian at schools, the singing of nationalist songs, and the sending of threatening letters to persons who had declared themselves against Albanian nationalism. The enemy still continues to be in evidence. A few days ago slogans again appeared, this time in the village of Vusanje, and after the arrival of the security organs, obstacles were placed on the road to Gusinje. These and similar "ruses" occur most frequently in the secondary school center and in the villages of Vusanje and Martinovic. The statement of most of the discussion participants who were of Albanian nationality and who have lived in harmony with Moslems and Montenegrins in this area for centuries was as follows: "We Albanians are called most of all to settle accounts with nationalists and irredentists because our nationality has been tainted. We do not need another homeland--Yugoslavia is our home in which we have all the rights of other Yugoslav peoples and no one can violate our community." [Excerpt] [Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jan 82 p 5]

NATIONALISM AT PLAV SCHOOL--A meeting of the basic LC organization at the Plav secondary school center on 14 January devoted special attention to negative occurrences arising from the increased activity of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. The writing of slogans and threatening letters, the singing of songs with nationalist content, and similar occurrences were sharply condemned in most of the discussion. [Excerpt] [Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 82 p 20]

CETINJE CRITICISM OF PRESS--The presidium of the SAWP Opstina Conference of Cetinje at a meeting on 14 January discussed problems related to the information media. The meeting was held following the publication of articles in NIN, POLITIKA, DUGA, AUTO-SVET, and VECERNJE NOVOSTI which have been judged here as untruthful and tendentious. In the last several months under bombastic headlines in these papers there have been reports on irresponsible youth, the misuse of credits, and unplanned construction on Lovcen. All this, it was said, is intended to diminish, in a sensationalist way, overall results which Cetinje has achieved in its political and economic life. It was also stressed that modern Cetinje is not immune from such cases but the interpretation of certain phenomena by some newspapers is unacceptable. Such phenomena are not characteristic for this city. [Excerpt] [Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 82 p 2]

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